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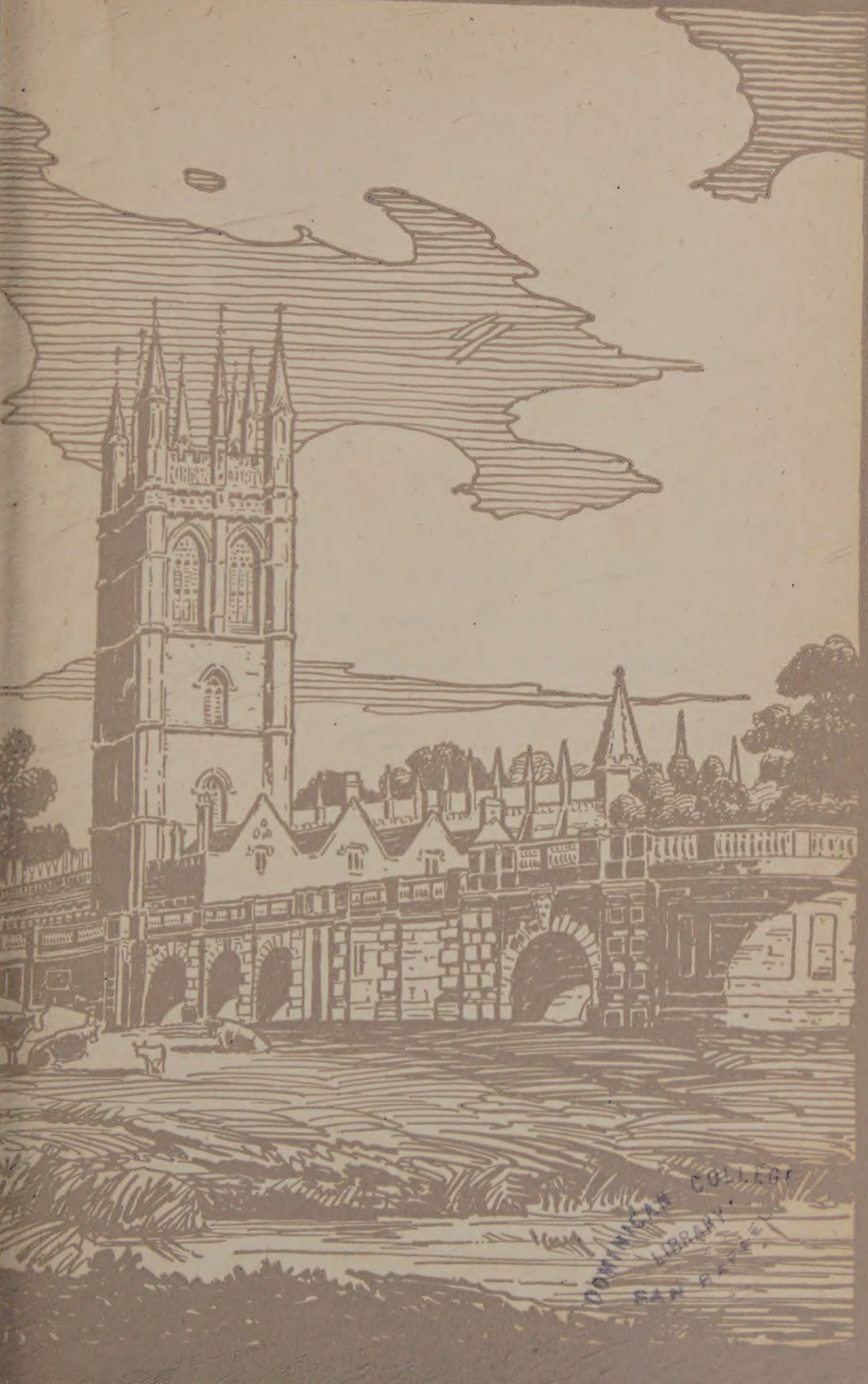

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THE MAKERS OF CANADA SERIES

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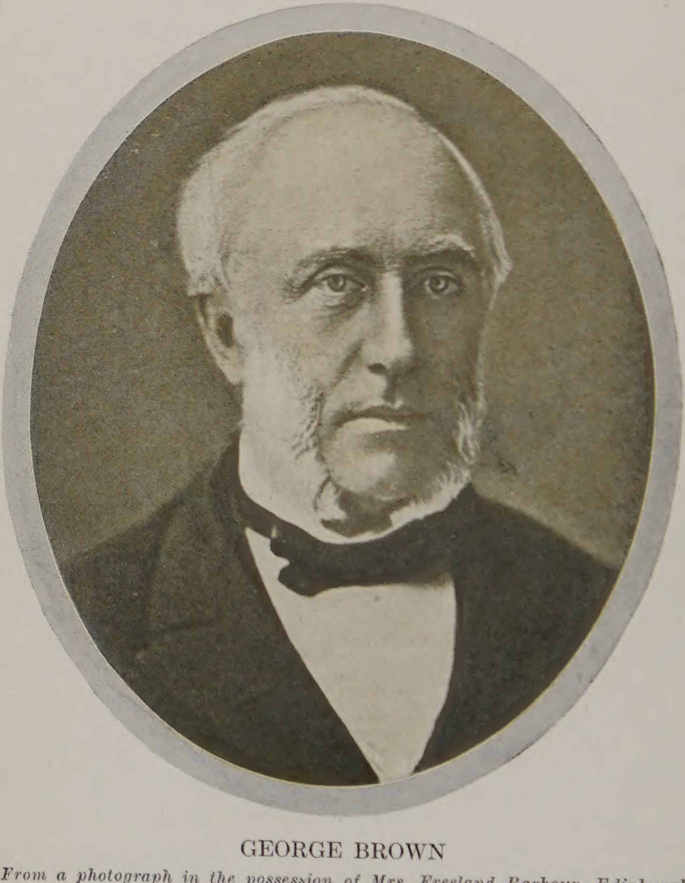
Vol. VII

GEORGE BROWN

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD



GEORGE BROWN

From a photograph in the possession of Mrs. Freeland Barbour, Edinburgh

THE MAKERS OF CANADA SERIES V.7

Anniversary Edition

GEORGE BROWN

BY

JOHN LEWIS

Illustrated under the direction of A. G. Doughty, C.M.G., Litt.D.
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PREFACE

THE title of this series, "Makers of Canada," seemed to impose on the writer the obligation to devote special attention to the part played by George Brown in fashioning the institutions of this country. From this point of view the most fruitful years of his life were spent between the time when the *Globe* was established to advocate responsible government, and the time when the provinces were confederated and the bounds of Canada extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The ordinary political contests in which Mr. Brown and his newspaper engaged have received only casual notice, and the effort of the writer has been to trace Mr. Brown's connection with the stream of events by which the old legislative union of Canada gave place to the confederated Dominion.

After the establishment of responsible government, the course of this stream is not obscure. Brown is found complaining that Upper Canada is inadequately represented and is dominated by its partner. Various remedies, such as dissolution of the union, representation by population and the "double majority," are proposed; but ultimately the solution is found in federation, and to this solution, and the events leading up to it, a large part of the book is devoted. Mr. Brown was also an ardent advocate of the union with Canada of the country lying west to the Rocky Mountains, and to this work reference is made.

Mr. Brown was one of those men who arouse strong friendships and strong animosities. These have been dealt with only where they seemed to have a bearing upon history, as in the case of Sir John A. Macdonald and of the Roman Catholic Church. It seems to be a profitless task for a biographer to take up and fight over again quarrels which had no public importance and did not affect the course of history.

The period covering Mr. Brown's career was one in which the political game was played roughly, and in which strong feelings were aroused. To this day it is difficult to discuss the career of the Hon. George Brown, or of Sir John A. Macdonald, without reviving these feelings in the breasts of political veterans and their sons; and even one who tries to study the time and the men and to write their story, finds himself taking sides with men who are in their graves, and fighting for causes long since lost and won. The writer has tried to resist the temptation of building up the fame of Brown by detracting from that of other men, but he has also thought it right in many cases to present Brown's point of view, not necessarily as the whole truth, but as one of the aspects of truth.

In dealing with the question of confederation, my endeavour has been simply to tell the story of

Brown's work and let it speak for itself, not to measure the exact proportion of credit due to Brown and to others. It is hard to believe, however, that the verdict of history will assign to him a place other than first among the public men of Canada who contributed to the work of confederation. Events, as D'Arcy McGee said, were probably more powerful than any of them.

If any apology is needed for the space devoted to the subject of slavery in the United States, it may be found not only in Brown's lifelong opposition to slavery, but in the fact that the Civil War influenced the relations between the United States and Canada, and indirectly promoted the confederation of the Canadian provinces, and also in the fact, so frequently emphasized by Mr. Brown, that the growth of the institution of slavery on this continent was a danger to which Canada could not be indifferent.

Among the works that have been found useful for reference are John Charles Dent's *Last Forty Years* (Canada since the union of 1841); *Gray on Confederation;* Coté's *Political Appointments and Elections in the Province of Canada;* Dr. Hodgins' *Legislation and History of Separate Schools in Upper Canada;* the lives of *Lord Elgin, Dr. Ryerson* and *Joseph Howe* in "The Makers of Canada" series; the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie's *Life and Speeches of the Hon. George Brown;* the Hon. James Young's *Public Men* *and Public Life in Canada.* Mr. Mackenzie's book contains a valuable collection of letters, to which frequent reference is made in the chapters of this book dealing with confederation. The account of the relations of the Peel government with Governor Sir Charles Bagot is taken from the *Life of Sir Robert Peel*, from his correspondence, edited by C. S. Parker. The files of the *Banner* and the *Globe* have been read with some care; they were found to contain an embarrassing wealth of most interesting historical material.

To Dr. James Bain, Librarian of the Toronto Free Library, and to Mr. Avern Pardoe, of the Library of the Legislative Assembly, I am deeply indebted for courtesy and assistance.

JOHN LEWIS.

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CHAPTER I

FROM SCOTLAND TO CANADA

GEORGE BROWN was born at Alloa, a seaport on the tidal Forth, thirty-five miles inward from Edinburgh, on November 29th, 1818. His mother was a daughter of George Mackenzie, of Stornoway, in the Island of Lewis. His father, Peter Brown, was a merchant and builder. George was educated at the High School and Southern Academy in Edinburgh. "This young man," said Dr. Gunn, of the Southern Academy, "is not only endowed with high enthusiasm, but possesses the faculty of creating enthusiasm in others." At the risk of attaching too much significance to praise bestowed on a school-boy, it may be said that these words struck the keynote of Brown's character and revealed the source of his power. The atmosphere of the household was Liberal; father and son alike hated the institution of slavery, with which they were destined to become more closely acquainted. "When I was a very young man," said George Brown, denouncing the Fugitive Slave Law before a Toronto audience, "I used to think that if I ever had to speak before such an audience as this, I would choose African Slavery as my theme in preference to any other topic. The subject seemed to afford the widest scope for rhetoric and for fervid appeals to the best of human sympathies. These thoughts arose far from here, while slavery was a thing at a distance, while the horrors of the system were unrealized, while the mind received it as a tale and discussed it as a principle. But, when you have mingled with the thing itself, when you have encountered the atrocities of the system, when you have seen three millions of human beings held as chattels by their Christian countrymen, when you have seen the free institutions, the free press and the free pulpit of America linked in the unrighteous task of upholding the traffic, when you have realized the manacle, and the lash, and the sleuth-hound, you think no more of rhetoric, the mind stands appalled at the monstrous iniquity, mere words lose their meaning, and facts, cold facts, are felt to be the only fit arguments."

Again, as George grew to manhood, the struggle which ended in the disruption of the Church of Scotland was approaching its climax, and the sympathies of the Brown household were with those who declared that it "is the fundamental law of this Church that no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people."

In 1838 reverses in business led the father and son to seek their fortunes in America. Arriving in New York, Peter Brown turned to journalism, finding employment as a contributor to the *Albion*, a weekly newspaper published for British residents of the United States. The Browns formed an unfavourable opinion of American institutions as represented by New York in that day. To them the republic presented itself as a slave-holding power, seeking to extend its territory in order to enlarge the area of slavery, and hostile to Great Britain as a citadel of freedom. They always regarded the slave-holding element in the United States as that which kept up the tradition of enmity to England. An American book entitled, *The Glory and Shame of England*, aroused Peter Brown's indignation, and he published a reply in a little volume bearing the name of *The Fame and Glory of England Vindicated.* Here he paid tribute to British freedom, contrasted it with the domination of the slave holders, and instanced the fact that in Connecticut a woman had been mobbed and imprisoned for teaching coloured girls to read. Further light is thrown upon the American experience of the Browns by an article in the *Banner*, their first Canadian venture in journalism. The writer is answering an accusation of disloyalty and Yankee sympathies, a stock charge against Reformers in that day. He said: "We have stood in the very heart of a republic, and fearlessly issued our weekly sheet expressing our fervent admiration of the limited monarchy of Great Britain, though surrounded by Democratic Whigs, Democratic Republicans, Irish Repealers, slave holders, and every class which breathes the most inveterate hostility to British institutions.

And we are not to be turned from maintaining the genuine principles of the constitution because some of our contemporaries are taken with a fit of sycophancy, and would sacrifice all at the shrine of power."

In December, 1842, the Browns established in New York the *British Chronicle*, a paper similar to the *Albion*, but apparently designed more especially for Scottish and Presbyterian readers in the United States and Canada. In an effort to promote Canadian circulation, George Brown came to Canada early in 1843. The *Chronicle* had taken strong ground on the popular side of the movement then agitating the Church of Scotland ; and this struggle was watched with peculiar interest in Canada, where the relations between Church and State were burning questions. Young Brown also met the members of a Reform administration then holding power under Governor Metcalfe, and the ministers became impressed with the idea that he would be a powerful ally in the struggle then impending.

There is on record an interesting pen picture of George Brown as he appeared at this time. The writer is Samuel Thompson, editor of the *Colonist*. "It was, I think, somewhere about the month of May, 1843, that there walked into my office on Nelson Street a young man of twenty-five years, tall, broad-shouldered, somewhat lantern-jawed and emphatically Scottish, who introduced himself to me as the travelling agent of the New York *British*

Chronicle, published by his father. This was George Brown, afterwards editor and publisher of the *Globe* newspaper. He was a very pleasant-mannered, courteous, gentlemanly young fellow, and impressed me favourably. His father, he said, found the political atmosphere of New York hostile to everything British, and that it was as much as a man's life was worth to give expression to any British predilections whatsoever (which I knew to be true). They had, therefore, thought of transferring their publication to Toronto, and intended to continue it as a thoroughly Conservative journal. I, of course, welcomed him as a co-worker in the same cause with ourselves, little expecting how his ideas of Conservatism were to develop themselves in subsequent years." His Conservatism—assuming that the young man was not misunderstood—was perhaps the result of a reaction from the experience of New York, in which democracy had presented itself in an unlovely aspect. Contact with Toronto Toryism of that day would naturally stiffen the Liberalism of a combative man.

As a result of George Brown's survey of the Canadian field, the publication of the *British Chronicle* in New York ceased, and the Browns removed to Toronto, where they established the *Banner*, a weekly paper partly Presbyterian and partly political, and in both fields championing the cause of government by the people. The first number was issued on August 18th, 1843. Referring to the disruption of the "Scottish Church" that had occurred three months before, the *Banner* said: "If we look to Scotland we shall find an event unparalleled in the history of the world. Nearly five hundred ministers, backed by several thousand elders and perhaps a million of people, have left the Church of their fathers because the civil courts have trampled on what they deem the rights of the Christian people in Scotland, exhibiting a lesson to the world which must produce results that cannot yet be measured. The sacrifice made by these devoted ministers of the Gospel is great; their reward is sure."

The columns of the *Banner* illustrate in a striking way the intermingling, common in that day, of religion and politics. The *Banner's* chief antagonist was the *Church*, a paper equally devoted to episcopacy and monarchy. Here is a specimen bit of controversy. The *Church*, arguing against responsible government, declares that as God is the only ruler of princes, princes cannot be accountable to the people; and perdition is the lot of all rebels, agitators of sedition, demagogues, who work under the pretence of reforming the State. All the troubles of the country are due to parliaments constantly demanding more power and thereby endangering the supremacy of the mother country. The *Banner* is astonished by the unblushing avowal of these doctrines, which had not been so openly proclaimed since the days of "High Church and Sacheverell," and which if acted upon would reduce the people to the level of abject slaves. Whence, it asks, comes this doctrine of the irresponsibility of kings? "It has been dug up from the tombs of Roman Catholic and High Church priests and of Jacobite bigots. Wherever it gets a footing it carries bloodshed and persecution in its train. It cramps the freedom of thought. It represses commercial enterprise and industry. It dries up the springs of the human understanding. To what does Britain owe all her greatness but to that free range of intellectual exertion which prompted Watt and Arkwright in their wonderful discoveries, which carried Anson and Cook round the globe, and which enabled Newton to scale the heavens? Is the dial to be put back? Must the world once more adopt the doctrine that the people are made for kings and not kings for the people? Where will this treason to the British Constitution find the slightest warrant in the Word of God? We know that power alone proceeds from God, the very air we breathe is the gift of His bounty, and whatever public right is exercised from the most obscure elective franchise to the king upon his throne is derived from Him to whom we must account for the exercise of it. But does that accountability take away or lessen the political obligations of the social compact?—assuredly not."

This style of controversy was typical of the time. Tories drew from the French Revolution warnings against the heedless march of democracy. Reformers based arguments on the "glorious revolution of 1688." A bill for the secularization of King's College was denounced by Bishop Strachan, the stalwart leader of the Anglicans, in language of extraordinary vehemence. The bill would hold up the Christian religion to the contempt of wicked men, and overturn the social order by unsettling property. Placing all forms of error on an equality with truth, the bill represented a principle "atheistical and monstrous, destructive of all that was pure and holy in morals and religion." To find parallels for this madness, the bishop referred to the French Revolution, when the Christian faith was abjured, and the Goddess of Reason set up for worship; to pagan Rome, which, to please the natives she had conquered, "condescended to associate their impure idolatries with her own."

These writings are quoted not merely as illustrations of extravagance of language. The language was the natural outcome of an extraordinary situation. The bishop was not a voice crying in the wilderness; he was a power in politics as well as in the Church, and had, as executive councillor, taken an important part in the government of the country. He was not making extravagant pretensions, but defending a position actually held by his Church, a position which fell little short of absolute domination. Religious equality was to be established, a great endowment of land converted from sectarian to public purposes, and a non-sectarian system of education created. In this work Brown played a leading part, but before it could be undertaken it was necessary to vindicate the right of the people to self-government.

In November, 1843, the resignation of Metcalfe's ministers created a crisis which soon absorbed the energy of the Browns and eventually led to the establishment of the *Globe*. In the issue of December 8th, 1843, the principles of responsible government are explained, and the *Banner* gives its support to the ministers. It cannot see why less confidence should be bestowed by a governor-general in Canada than by a sovereign in the British empire. It deplores the rupture and declares that it still belongs to no political party. It has no liking for "Democracy," a word which even Liberals at that time seemed to regard with horror. It asks Presbyterians to stand fast for the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. It exhorts the people of Canada to be firm and patient and to let no feeling of disappointment lead their minds to republicanism. Those who would restrict the liberties of Canada also dwell on the evils of republicanism, but they are the very people who would bring it to pass. The *Banner's* ideal is a system of just and equal government. If this is pursued, a vast nation will grow up speaking the same language, having the same laws and customs, and bound to the mother country by the strongest bonds of affection. The

Banner, which had at first described itself as independent in party politics, soon found itself drawn into a struggle which was too fierce and too momentous to allow men of strong convictions to remain neutral. We find politics occupying more and more attention in its columns, and finally on March 5th, 1844, the *Globe* is established as the avowed ally of Baldwin and Lafontaine, and the advocate of responsible government. It will be necessary to explain now the nature of the difference between Metcalfe and his ministers.

CHAPTER II

METCALFE AND THE REFORMERS

THE Browns arrived in Canada in the period of reconstruction following the rebellion of 1837-8. In Lord Durham's Report the rising in Lower Canada was attributed mainly to racial animosity—"two nations warring in the bosom of a single state"—"a struggle not of principles but of races." The rising in Upper Canada was attributed mainly to the ascendency of the "family compact"—a family only in the official sense. "The bench, the magistracy, the high offices of the episcopal church, and a great part of the legal profession, are filled by their adherents; by grant or purchase they have acquired nearly the whole of the waste lands of the province; they are all-powerful in the chartered banks, and till lately shared among themselves almost exclusively all offices of trust and profit. The bulk of this party consists, for the most part, of native born inhabitants of the colony, or of emigrants who settled in it before the last war with the United States; the principal members of it belong to the Church of England, and the maintenance of the claims of that Church has always been one of its distinguishing characteristics." Reformers discovered that even when they triumphed at the polls, they could not break up this combination, the executive government remaining constantly in the hands of their opponents. They therefore agitated for the responsibility of the executive council to the legislative assembly.

Lord Durham's remedy was to unite Upper and Lower Canada, and to grant the demand for responsible government. He hoped that the union would in time dispose of the racial difficulty. Estimating the population of Upper Canada at four hundred thousand, the English inhabitants of Lower Canada at one hundred and fifty thousand, and the French at four hundred and fifty thousand, "the union of the two provinces would not only give a clear English majority, but one which would be increased every year by the influence of English immigration; and I have little doubt that the French, when once placed by the legitimate course of events and the working of natural causes, in a minority, would abandon their vain hopes of nationality."

The future mapped out by Lord Durham for the French-Canadians was one of benevolent assimilation. He underestimated their tenacity and their power of adapting themselves to new political conditions. They not only retained their distinctive language and customs, but gained so large a measure of political power that in time Upper Canada complained that it was dominated by its partner. The union was effected soon after the report, but the granting of responsible government was long delayed. From the submission of Lord Durham's Report to the time of Lord Elgin, the question of responsible government was the chief issue in Canadian politics. Lord Durham's recommendations were clear and specific. He maintained that harmony would be restored "not by weakening but strengthening the influence of the people on its government ; by confining within much narrower bounds than those hitherto allotted to it, and not by extending, the interference of the imperial authorities on the details of colonial affairs." The government must be administered on the principles that had been found efficacious in Great Britain. He would not impair a single prerogative of the Crown, but the Crown must submit to the necessary consequences of representative institutions, and must govern through those in whom the representative body had confidence.

These principles are now so well established that it is hard to realize how bold and radical they appeared in 1839. Between that time and 1847, the British government sent out to Canada three governors, with various instructions. Whatever the wording of these instructions was, they always fell short of Durham's recommendations, and always expressed a certain reluctance to entrusting the government of Canada unreservedly to representatives of the people.

From 1842 to 1846 the government in Great Britain was that of Sir Robert Peel, and it was that government which set itself most strongly against the granting of autonomy to Canada. It was Conservative, and it probably received from correspondents in Canada a good deal of misinformation and prejudiced opinion in regard to the aims of the Reformers. But it was a group of men of the highest character and capacity, concerning whom Gladstone has left on record a remarkable testimony. "It is his conviction that in many of the most important rules of public policy, that government surpassed generally the governments which have succeeded it, whether Liberal or Conservative. Among them he would mention purity in patronage. financial strictness, loyal adherence to the principle of public economy, jealous regard to the rights of parliament, a single eye to the public interest, strong aversion to extension of territorial responsibilities, and a frank admission of the rights of foreign countries as equal to those of their own."

With this high estimate of the general character of the Peel government must be coupled the undoubted fact that it entirely misunderstood the situation in Canada, gave its support to the party of reaction, and needlessly delayed the establishment of self-government. We may attribute this in part to the distrust occasioned by the rebellion; in part to the use of partisan channels of information; but under all this was a deeper cause—inability to conceive of such a relation as exists between Great Britain and Canada to-day. In that respect Peel and his colleagues resembled most of the public men of their time. They could understand separation; they could understand a relation in which the British government and its agents ruled the colonies in a kindly and paternal fashion; but a union under which the colonies were nations in all but foreign relations passed their comprehension. When the colonies asked for complete self-government it was supposed that separation was really desired. Some were for letting them go in peace. Others were for holding them by political and commercial bonds. Of the latter class, Stanley, colonial secretary under Peel, was a good type. He believed in "strong" governors; he believed in a system of preferential trade between Great Britain and the colonies, and his language might have been used, with scarcely any modification, by the Chamberlain party in the recent elections in Great Britain. When, in 1843, he introduced the measure giving a preference to Canadian wheat, he expressed the hope that it would restore content and prosperity to Canada; and when that preference disappeared with the Corn Laws, he declared that the basis of colonial union was destroyed.

From the union to September, 1842, no French-Canadian name appears in a Canadian government. French-Canadians were deeply dissatisfied with the terms of the union; there was a strong reluctance to admitting them to any share of power, and they complained bitterly that they were politically ostracized by Sydenham, the first governor. His successor, Bagot, adopted the opposite policy, and earned the severe censure of the government at home.

On August 23rd, 1842, Sir Robert Peel wrote to Lord Stanley in terms which indicated a belief that Governor Bagot was experiencing great difficulty in carrying on the government. He spoke of a danger of French-Canadians and Radicals, or French-Canadians and Conservatives, combining to place the government in a minority. He suggested various means of meeting the danger, and said, "I would not voluntarily throw myself into the hands of the French party through fear of being in a minority."

Before instructions founded on this letter could reach the colony, the governor had acted, "throwing himself," in the words of Peel's biographer, "into the hands of the party tainted by disaffection." What had really happened was that on September 16th, 1842, the Canadian government had been reconstructed, the principal change being the introduction of Lafontaine and Baldwin as its leading members. This action aroused a storm in Canada, where Bagot was fiercely assailed by the Tories for his so-called surrender to rebels. And that view was taken also in England.

On October 18th, 1842, Mr. Arbuthnot wrote to Sir Robert Peel: "The Duke [Wellington] has been thunderstruck by the news from Canada. Between ourselves, he considers what has happened as likely to be fatal to the connection with England; and I must also, in the very strictest confidence, tell you that he dreads lest it should break up the cabinet here at home."

On October 21st, Sir Robert Peel wrote to Lord Stanley, pointing out the danger of the duke's strong and decisive condemnation: "In various quarters the Duke of Wellington denouncing the arrangement as a tame surrender to a party tainted with treason, would produce an impression most dangerous to the government, if it could get over the effects produced by the first announcement of his retirement, on the ground of avowed difference of opinion." After reading Sir Charles Bagot's explanations, he admitted that the governor's position was embarrassing. "Suppose," he said in a subsequent letter, "that Sir C. Bagot was reduced to such difficulties that he had no alternative but to take the best men of the French-Canadian party into his councils, and that it was better for him to do this before there was a hostile vote; still, the manner in which he conducted his negotiations was a most unwise one. He makes it appear to the world that he courted and rejoiced in the necessity for a change in his councils." On October 24th the Duke of Wellington wrote expressing his agreement with Peel, and adding: "However, it appears to me that we must consider the arrangement as settled and adopted by the legislature of Canada.

It will remain to be considered afterwards what is to be done with Sir Charles Bagot and with his measures."

The question was solved by the death of the governor who had been unfortunate enough to arouse the storm, and to create a ministerial crisis in Great Britain. It is believed that his end was hastened by the news from England. He fell ill in November, grew steadily worse, and at last asked to be recalled, a request which was granted. At his last cabinet council he bade an affectionate farewell to his ministers, and begged them to defend his memory. His best vindication is found in the failure of Metcalfe's policy, and in the happy results of the policy of Elgin.

The events connected with the retirement of Bagot, which were not fully understood until the publication of Sir Robert Peel's papers a few years ago, throw light upon the reasons which determined the selection of Sir Charles Metcalfe. Metcalfe was asked by Lord Stanley whether he would be able and disposed to assume "most honourable and at the same time very arduous duties in the public service." Metcalfe wrote to Captain Higginson, afterwards his private secretary: "I am not sure that the government of Canada is a manageable affair, and unless I think I can go to good purpose I will not go at all." Sir Francis Hincks says: "All Sir Charles Metcalfe's correspondence prior to his departure from England is indicative of a feeling that he was going on a forlorn hope expedition," and Hincks adds that such language can be explained only on the assumption that he was sent out for the purpose of overthrowing responsible government. It is certainly established by the Peel correspondence that the British government strongly disapproved of Sir Charles Bagot's policy, and selected Sir Charles Metcalfe as a man who would govern on radically different lines. It is perhaps putting it rather strongly to say that he was intended to overthrow responsible government. But he must have come to Canada filled with distrust of the Canadian ministry, filled with the idea that the demand for responsible government was a cloak for seditious designs, and ready to take strong measures to preserve British connection. In this misunderstanding lay the source of his errors and misfortunes in Canada.

It is not therefore necessary to enter minutely into the dispute which occasioned the rupture between Metcalfe and his advisers. On the surface it was a dispute over patronage. In reality Baldwin and Lafontaine were fighting for autonomy and responsible government; Metcalfe, as he thought, was defending the unity of the empire. He was a kindly and conscientious man, and he held his position with some skill, always contending that he was willing to agree to responsible government on condition that the colonial position was recognized, the prerogative of the Crown upheld, and the governor not dominated by one political party.

The governor finally broke with his advisers in November, 1843. For some months he was to govern, not only without a responsible ministry, but without a parliament, for the legislature was immediately prorogued, and did not meet again before dissolution. His chief adviser was William Henry Draper, a distinguished lawyer, whose political career was sacrificed in the attempt to hold an impossible position. Reformers and Tories prepared for a struggle which was to continue for several years, and which, in spite of the smallness of the field, was of the highest importance in settling a leading principle of government.

On March 5th, 1844, as a direct consequence of the struggle, appeared the first issue of the Toronto *Globe*, its motto taken from one of the boldest letters of Junius to George III: "The subject who is truly loyal to the chief magistrate will neither advise nor submit to arbitrary measures." The leading article was a long and careful review of the history of the country, followed by a eulogy on the constitution enjoyed by Great Britain since "the glorious revolution of 1688," but denied to Canada. Responsible government was withheld; the governor named his councillors in defiance of the will of the legislature. Advocates of responsible government were stigmatized by the governor's friends as rebels, traitors, radicals and republicans. The *Globe* proclaimed its adherence to Lord Durham's recommendation, and said: "The battle which the Reformers of Canada will fight is not the battle of a party, but the battle of constitutional right against the undue interference of executive power." The prospectus of the paper contained these words: "Firmly attached to the principles of the British Constitution, believing the limited monarchy of Great Britain the best system of government yet devised by the wisdom of man, and sincerely convinced that the prosperity of Canada will best be advanced by a close connection between it and the mother country, the editor of the *Globe* will support all measures which will tend to draw closer the bonds of a mutually advantageous union."

On March 25th, 1844, the campaign was opened with a meeting called by the Toronto Reform Association. Robert Baldwin, "father of responsible government," was in the chair, and William Hume Blake was the orator of the night. The young editor of the *Globe*, a recruit among veterans, seems to have made a hit with a picture of a ministry framed on the "no party" plan advocated by Governor Metcalfe. In this imaginary ministry he grouped at the same council table Robert Baldwin and his colleague Francis Hincks; Sir Allan MacNab, the Tory leader; William Henry Draper, Metcalfe's chief adviser; John Strachan, Bishop of Toronto; and Dr. Ryerson, leader of the Methodists and champion of the governor. His Excellency is on a chair raised above the warring elements below. Baldwin moves that King's College be opened to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects. At once the combination is dissolved, as any one who remembers Bishop Strachan's views on that question will understand.

Dr. Ryerson, whose name was used by Brown in this illustration, was a leader among the Methodists, and had fought stoutly for religious equality against Anglican privilege. But he had espoused the side of the governor-general, apparently taking seriously the position that it was the only course open to a loyal subject. In a series of letters published in the summer of 1844, he warned the people that the Toronto Reform Association was leading them to the edge of a precipice. "In the same manner," he said, "I warned you against the Constitutional Reform Association, formed in 1834. In 1837 my warning predictions were realized, to the ruin of many and the misery of thousands. What took place in 1837 was but a preface of what may be witnessed in 1847." The warning he meant to convey was that the people were being drawn into a conflict with the imperial authorities. "Mr. Baldwin," he said, "practically renounces the imperial authority by refusing to appeal to it, and by appealing through the Toronto Association to the people of Canada. If the people of Canada are the tribunal of judgment on one question of constitutional prerogative, they are so on every question of constitutional prerogative. Then the governor is no longer responsible to the imperial authority, and Canada is an independent country. Mr. Baldwin's proceeding, therefore, not only leads to independence but involves (unconsciously, I admit, from extreme and theoretical views), a practical declaration of independence before the arrival of the 4th of July!"

In this language Dr. Ryerson described with accuracy the attitude of the British government. That government had, as we have seen, disapproved of Governor Bagot's action in parting with so large a measure of power, and it was fully prepared to support Metcalfe in pursuing the opposite course. Dr. Ryerson was also right in saying that the government of Great Britain would be supported by parliament. In May, 1844, the affairs of Canada were discussed in the British House of Commons, and the governor's action was justified by Peel, by Lord Stanley, and by Lord John Russell. The only dissentient voices were those of the Radicals, Hume and Roebuck.

Metcalfe and his chiefs at home can hardly be blamed for holding the prevailing views of the time, which were that the changes contemplated by Durham, by Bagot, and by Baldwin were dangerous and revolutionary. The idea that a colony could remain connected with Great Britain under such a system of autonomy as we enjoy to-day was then conceived by only a few men of exceptional breadth and foresight, among whom Elgin was one of the most eminent.

The wise leadership of Baldwin and Lafontaine and the patience and firmness of the Reformers are attested by their conduct in very trying circumstances. Finding their demand for constitutional reform opposed not only by the Canadian Tories, but by the governor-general and the imperial government and parliament, they might have become discouraged, or have been tempted into some act of violence. Their patience must have been sorely tried by the persistent malice or obstinate prejudice which stigmatized a strictly constitutional movement as treason. They had also to endure the trial of a temporary defeat at the polls, and an apparent rejection of their policy by the very people for whose liberties they were contending.

In the autumn of 1844 the legislature was dissolved and a fierce contest ensued. Governor Metcalfe's attitude is indicated by his biographer.[1] "The contest," he says, "was between loyalty on the one side and disaffection to Her Majesty's government on the other. That there was a strong anti-British feeling abroad, in both divisions of the province [Upper and Lower Canada] Metcalfe clearly and painfully perceived. The conviction served to brace and stimulate him to new exertions. He felt that he was fighting for his sovereign against a rebellious people." The appeal was successful; Upper Canada was swept by the loyalty cry, and in various polling places votes were actually cast or offered for the governor-general. The *Globe* described a conversation that occurred in a polling place in York: "Whom do you vote for?" "I vote for the governor-general." "There is no such candidate. Say George Duggan, you blockhead." "Oh, yes, George Duggan; it's all the same thing." There were candidates who described themselves as "governor-general's men"; there were candidates whose royalist enthusiasm was expressed in the name "Cavaliers." In the Montreal election petition it was charged that during two days of polling the electors were exposed to danger from the attacks of bands of fighting men hired by the government candidates or their agents, and paid, fed, and armed with "bludgeons, bowie-knives, and pistols and other murderous weapons" for the purpose of intimidating the Liberal electors and preventing them from gaining access to the polls; that Liberals were driven from the polls by these fighting men, and by cavalry and infantry acting under the orders of partisan magistrates. The polls, it was stated, were surrounded by soldiers, field-pieces were placed in several public squares, and the city was virtually in a state of siege. The charges were not investigated, the petition being rejected for irregularity; but violence and intimidation were then common accompaniments of elections.

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[1] Kaye's *Life of Metcalfe*, Vol. II., p. 389.

In November the governor was able to record his victory thus: Upper Canada, avowed supporters of his government, thirty; avowed adversaries, seven; undeclared and uncertain, five. Lower Canada, avowed supporters, sixteen; avowed adversaries, twenty-one; undeclared and uncertain, four. Remarking on this difference between Upper and Lower Canada, he said that loyalty and British feeling prevailed in Upper Canada and in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada, and that disaffection was predominant among the French-Canadian constituencies.[1] Metcalfe honestly believed he had saved Canada for the empire; but more mischief could hardly have been done by deliberate design. In achieving a barren and precarious victory at the polls, he and his friends had run the risk of creating that disaffection which they feared. The stigma of disloyalty had been unjustly affixed to honest and public-spirited men, whose steadiness alone prevented them, in their resentment, from joining the ranks of the disaffected. Worse still, the line of political cleavage had been identified with the line of racial division, and "French-Canadian" and "rebel" had been used as synonymous terms.

The ministry and the legislative assembly were now such as the governor had desired, yet the harmony was soon broken. There appeared divisions in the cabinet, hostile votes in the legislature, and finally a revolt in the Conservative press. An attempt to form a coalition with the French-Canadian members drew a sarcastic comment from the *Globe*: "Mr. Draper has invited the men whom he and his party have for years stigmatized before the country as rebels and traitors and destructives to join his administration." Reformers regarded these troubles as evidence that the experiment in reaction was failing, and waited patiently for the end. Shortly after the election the governor was raised to the peerage, an honour which, if not earned by success in Canada, was fairly due to his honest intentions. He left Canada at the close of the year 1845, suffering from a painful disease, of which he died a year afterwards.

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[1] Kaye's *Life of Metcalfe*, Vol. II., p. 390.

Soon after the governor's departure the young editor of the *Globe* had a curious experience. At a dinner of the St. Andrew's Society, Toronto, the president, Judge MacLean, proposed the health of Lord Metcalfe, eulogized his Canadian policy, and insisted that he had not been recalled, "as certain persons have most impertinently and untruly assumed and set forth." Brown refused to drink the toast, and asked to be heard, asserting that he had been publicly insulted from the chair. After a scene of uproar, he managed to obtain a hearing, and said, addressing the chairman: "I understand your allusions, sir, and your epithet of impertinence as applied to myself. I throw it back on you with contempt, and will content myself with saying that your using such language and dragging such matters before the society was highly improper. Lord

Metcalfe, sir, has been recalled, and it may yet be seen that it was done by an enlightened British government for cause. The toast which you have given, too, and the manner in which it was introduced, are highly improper. This is not the place to discuss Lord Metcalfe's administration. There is a wide difference of opinion as to it. But I refrain from saying one word as to his conduct in this province. This is not a political but a benevolent society, composed of persons of very varied political sentiments, and such a toast ought never to have been brought here. Lord Metcalfe is not now governor-general of Canada, and I had a right to refuse to do honour to him or not as I saw fit, and that without any disparagement to his conduct as a gentleman, even though the person who is president of this society thinks otherwise." This incident, trivial as it may appear, illustrates the passion aroused by the contest, and the bold and resolute character of the young politician.

Lord Metcalfe's successor was Earl Cathcart, a soldier who concerned himself little in the political disputes of the country, and who had been chosen because of the danger of war with the United States, arising out of the dispute over the Oregon boundary. The settlement of that dispute does not come within the scope of this work; but it may be noted that the *Globe* was fully possessed by the belligerent spirit of the time, and frankly expressed the hope that Great Britain would fight, not merely for the Oregon boundary, but "to proclaim liberty to the black population." The writer hoped that the Christian nations of the world would combine and "break the chains of the slaves in the United States, in Brazil and in Cuba."

CHAPTER III

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

IN England, as well as in Canada, events were moving towards self-government. With the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 disappeared the preference to Canadian wheat. "Destroy this principle of protection," said Lord Stanley in the House of Lords, "and you destroy the whole basis upon which your colonial system rests." Loud complaints came from Canada, and in a despatch from Earl Cathcart to the colonial secretary, it was represented that the Canadian waterways had been improved on the strength of the report made to Great Britain, and that the disappointment and loss resulting from the abolition of the preference would lead to alienation from the mother country and "annexation to our rival and enemy, the United States." Gladstone, in his reply, denied that the basis of imperial unity was protection, "the exchange, not of benefits, but of burdens;" the true basis lay in common feelings, traditions and hopes. The *Globe* held that Canada had no right to complain if the people of the United Kingdom did what was best for themselves. England, as an exporter of manufactures, had to meet competition at the world's prices, and must have cheap food supplies. Canada had surely a higher destiny than to export a few hundred bushels of wheat and flour to England. Canadian home manufactures must be encouraged, and efforts made to obtain free trade with the United States. "The Tory press," said the *Globe*, "are out in full cry against free trade. Their conduct affords an illustration of the unmitigated selfishness of Toryism. Give them everything they can desire and they are brimful of loyalty. They will shout pæans till they are sick, and drink goblets till they are blind in favour of 'wise and benevolent governors' who will give them all the offices and all the emoluments. But let their interests, real or imaginary, be affected, and how soon does their loyalty evaporate! Nothing is now talked of but separation from the mother country, unless the mother continues feeding them in the mode prescribed by the child."

Some time afterwards, Lord Elgin, in his communications to the home government, said that the Canadian millers and shippers had a substantial grievance, not in the introduction of free trade, but in the constant tinkering incident to the abandoned system of imperial protection. The preference given in 1843 to Canadian wheat and to flour, even when made of American wheat, had stimulated milling in Canada; but almost before the newly-built mills were fairly at work, the free trade measure of 1846 swept the advantage away. What was wrong was not free trade, but Canadian dependence on imperial tariff legislation.

Elgin was one of the few statesmen of his day who perceived that the colonies might enjoy commercial independence and political equality, without separation. He declared that imperial unity did not depend on the exercise of dominion, the dispensing of patronage, or the maintenance of an imperial hot-bed for forcing commerce and manufactures. Yet he conceived of an empire not confined to the British Islands, but growing, expanding, "strengthening itself from age to age, and drawing new supplies of vitality from virgin soils."

With Elgin's administration began the new era of self-government. The legislature was dissolved towards the close of the year 1847, and the election resulted in a complete victory for the Reformers. In Upper Canada the contest was fairly close, but in Lower Canada the Conservative forces were almost annihilated, and on the first vote in parliament the government was defeated by a large majority. The second Baldwin-Lafontaine government received the full confidence and loyal support of the governor, and by its conduct and achievements justified the reform that had been so long delayed, and adopted with so many misgivings. But the fight for responsible government was not yet finished. The cry of French and rebel domination was raised, as it had been raised in the days of Governor Bagot. A Toronto journal reproachfully referred to Lord Elgin's descent from "the Bruce," and asked how a man of royal ancestry could so degrade himself as to consort with rebels and political jobbers. "Surely the curse of Minerva, uttered by a great poet against the father, clings to the son." The removal of the old office-holders seemed to this writer to be an act of desecration not unlike the removal of the famous marbles from the Parthenon. In a despatch explaining his course on the Rebellion Losses Bill, Lord Elgin said that long before that legislation there were evidences of the temper which finally produced the explosion. He quoted the following passage from a newspaper: "When French tyranny becomes insupportable, we shall find our Cromwell. Sheffield in olden times used to be famous for its keen and well-tempered whittles. Well, they make bayonets there now, just as sharp and just as well-tempered. When we can stand tyranny no longer, it will be seen whether good bayonets in Saxon hands will not be more than a match for a mace and a majority." All the fuel for a conflagration was ready. There was race hatred, there was party hostility, there was commercial depression and there was a sincere, though exaggerated, loyalty, which regarded rebellion as the unforgivable sin, and which was in constant dread of the spread of radical, republican and democratic ideas.

The Rebellion Losses Bill was all that was needed to fan the embers into flame. This was a measure intended to compensate persons who had suffered losses during the rebellion in Lower Canada. It was attacked as a measure for "rewarding rebels." Lord Elgin afterwards said that he did not believe a rebel would receive a farthing. But even if we suppose that some rebels or rebel sympathizers were included in the list, the outcry against the bill was unreasonable. A general amnesty had been proclaimed; French-Canadians had been admitted to a full share of political power. The greater things having been granted, it was mere pedantry to haggle about the less, and to hold an elaborate inquiry into the principles of every man whose barns had been burned during the rebellion. When responsible government was conceded, it was admitted that even the rebels had not been wholly wrong. It would have been straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel to say "we will give you these free institutions for the sake of which you rebelled, but we will not pay you the small sum of money necessary to recompense you for losses arising out of the rebellion."

However, it is easier to discuss these matters coolly in 1906 than it was in 1849, and in 1849 the notion of "rewarding the rebels" produced another rebellion on a small scale. A large quantity of important legislation was brought down by the new government when it met the legislature early in 1849, but everything else was forgotten when Mr. Lafontaine introduced the resolution on which the Rebellion Losses Bill was founded. In various parts of Upper Canada meetings were held and protests made against the measure. In Toronto the protests took the form of mob violence, foreshadowing what was to come in Montreal. Effigies of Baldwin and Blake were carried through the streets and burned. William Lyon Mackenzie had lately returned to Canada, and was living at the house of a citizen named Mackintosh. The mob went to the house, threatened to pull it down, and burned an effigy of Mackenzie. The windows of the house were broken and stones and bricks thrown in. The *Globe* office was apparently not molested, but about midnight the mob went to the dwelling-house of the Browns, battered at the door and broke some windows. The *Globe* in this trying time stood staunchly by the government and Lord Elgin, and powerfully influenced the public opinion of Upper Canada in their favour. Addresses calling for the withdrawal of Lord Elgin were met by addresses supporting his action, and the signatures to the friendly addresses outnumbered the other by one hundred and twenty thousand. George Brown, Col. C. T. Baldwin, and W. P. Howland were deputed to present an address from the Reformers of Upper Canada. Sir William Howland has said that Lord Elgin was so much affected that he shed tears.

This is not the place, however great the temptation may be, to describe the stirring scenes that were enacted in Montreal ; the stormy debate, the fiery speech in which William Hume Blake hurled back at the Tories the charge of disloyalty; the tumult in the galleries, the burning of the parliament buildings, and the mobbing and stoning of the governor-general.

Lord Elgin's bearing under this severe trial was admirable. He was most desirous that blood should not be shed, and for this reason avoided the use of troops or the proclamation of martial law; and he had the satisfaction of seeing the storm gradually subside. A less dangerous evidence of discontent was a manifesto signed by leading citizens of Montreal advocating annexation to the United States, not only to relieve commercial depression, but "to settle the race question forever, by bringing to bear on the French-Canadians the powerful assimilating forces of the republic." The signers of this document were leniently dealt with; but those among them who afterwards took a prominent part in politics, were not permitted to forget their error. Elgin was of opinion that there was ground for discontent on commercial grounds, and he advocated the removal of imperial restriction on navigation, and the establishment of reciprocity between the United States and the British North American provinces. The annexation movement was confined chiefly to Montreal. In Upper Canada an association called the British American League was formed, and a convention held at Kingston in 1849. The familiar topics of commercial depression and French domination were discussed; some violent language was used, but the remedies proposed were sane enough; they were protection, retrenchment, and the union of the British provinces. Union, it was said, would put an end to French domination, and would give Canada better access to the sea and increased commerce. The British American League figures in the old, and not very profitable, controversy as to the share of credit to be allotted to each political party for the work of confederation. It is part of the Conservative case. But the platform was abandoned for the time, and confederation remained in the realm of speculation rather than of action.

CHAPTER IV

DISSENSION AMONG REFORMERS

WITHIN the limits of one parliament, less than four years, the Baldwin-Lafontaine government achieved a large amount of useful work, including the establishment of cheap and uniform postage, the reforming of the courts of law, the remodelling of the municipal system, the establishment of the University of Toronto on a non-sectarian basis, and the inauguration of a policy by which the province was covered with a network of railways. With such a record, the government hardly seemed to be open to a charge of lack of energy and progressiveness, but it was a time when radicalism was in the air. It may be more than a coincidence that Chartism in England and a revolution in France were followed by radical movements in both Canadas.

The counterpart to the Rouge party in Lower Canada, elsewhere referred to, was the Clear Grit party in Upper Canada. Among its leaders were Peter Perry, one of the founders of the Reform party in Upper Canada, Caleb Hopkins, David Christie, James Lesslie, Dr. John Rolph and William Macdougall. Rolph had played a leading part in the movement for reform before the rebellion, and is the leading figure in Dent's history of that period. Macdougall was a young lawyer and journalist fighting his way into prominence.

"Grit" afterwards became a nickname for a member of the Reform or Liberal party, and especially for the enthusiastic followers of George Brown. Yet in all the history of a quarrelsome period in politics there is no more violent quarrel than that between Brown and the Clear Grits. It is said that Brown and Christie were one day discussing the movement, and that Brown had mentioned the name of a leading Reformer as one of the opponents of the new party. Christie replied that the party did not want such men, they wanted only those who were "Clear Grit." This is one of several theories as to the derivation of the name. The *Globe* denounced the party as "a miserable clique of office-seeking, bunkum-talking cormorants, who met in a certain lawyer's office on King Street [Macdougall's] and announced their intention to form a new party on Clear Grit principles." The *North American*, edited by Macdougall, denounced Brown with equal fury as a servile adherent of the Baldwin government. Brown for several years was in this position of hostility to the Radical wing of the party. He was defeated in Haldimand by William Lyon Mackenzie, who stood on an advanced Radical platform; and in 1851 his opponent in Kent and Lambton was Malcolm Cameron, a Clear Grit, who had joined the Hincks-Morin

WILLIAM McDOUGALL

From an engraving in the Public Archives of Canada

government. The nature of their relations is shown by a letter in which Cameron called on one of his friends to come out and oppose Brown: "I will be out and we will show him up, and let him know what stuff Liberal Reformers are made of, and how they would treat fanatical beasts who would allow no one liberty but themselves."

The Clear Grits advocated, (1) the application of the elective principle to all the officials and institutions of the country, from the head of the government downwards; (2) universal suffrage; (3) vote by ballot; (4) biennial parliaments; (5) the abolition of property qualification for parliamentary representations; (6) a fixed term for the holding of general elections and for the assembling of the legislature; (7) retrenchment; (8) the abolition of pensions to judges; (9) the abolition of the Courts of Common Pleas and Chancery and the giving of an enlarged jurisdiction to the Court of Queen's Bench; (10) reduction of lawyers' fees; (11) free trade and direct taxation; (12) an amended jury law; (13) the abolition or modification of the usury laws; (14) the abolition of primogeniture; (15) the secularization of the clergy reserves, and the abolition of the rectories. The movement was opposed by the *Globe.* No new party, it said, was required for the advocacy of reform of the suffrage, retrenchment, law reform, free trade or the liberation of the clergy reserves. These were practical questions, on which the Reform party was united. But these were placed on the programme merely to cloak its revolutionary features, features that simply meant the adoption of republican institutions, and the taking of the first step towards annexation. The British system of responsible government was upheld by the *Globe* as far superior to the American system in the security it afforded to life and property.

But while Brown defended the government from the attacks of the Clear Grits, he was himself growing impatient at their delay in dealing with certain questions that he had at heart, especially the secularization of the clergy reserves. He tried, as we should say to-day, "to reform the party from within." He was attacked for his continued support of a ministry accused of abandoning principles while "he was endeavouring to influence the members to a right course without an open rupture." There was an undercurrent of discontent drawing him away from the government. In October, 1850, the *Globe* contained a series of articles on the subject. It was pointed out that there were four parties in the country: the old-time Tories, the opponents of responsible government, whose members were fast diminishing; the new party led by John A. Macdonald; the Ministerialists; and the Clear Grits, who were described as composed of English Radicals, Republicans and annexationists. The Ministerialists had an overwhelming majority over all, but were disunited. What was the trouble? The ministers might be a little slow, a little wanting in tact, a little less democratic than some of their followers. They were not traitors to the Reform cause, and intemperate attacks on them might be disastrous to that cause. A union of French-Canadians with Upper Canadian Conservatives would, it was prophesied, make the Reform party powerless. Though in later years George Brown became known as the chief opponent of French-Canadian influence, he was well aware of the value of the alliance, and he gave the French-Canadians full credit for their support to measures of reform. "Let the truth be known," said the *Globe* at this time, "to the French-Canadians of Lower Canada are the Reformers of Upper Canada indebted for the sweeping majorities which carried their best measures." He gave the government credit for an immense mass of useful legislation enacted in a very short period. But more remained to be done. The clergy reserves must be abolished, and all connection between Church and State swept away. "The party in power has no policy before the country. No one knows what measures are to be brought forward by the leaders. Each man fancies a policy for himself. The conductors of the public press must take ground on all the questions of the day, and each accordingly strikes out such a line as suits his own leanings, the palates of his readers, or what he deems for the good of the country. All sorts of vague schemes are thus thrown on the sea of public opinion to agitate the waters, with the triple result of poisoning the public mind, producing unnecessary divisions, and committing sections of the party to views and principles which they might never have contemplated under a better system."

For some time the articles in the *Globe* did not pass the bounds of friendly, though outspoken, criticism. The events that drew Brown into opposition were his breach with the Roman Catholic Church, the campaign in Haldimand in which he was defeated by William Lyon Mackenzie, the retirement of Baldwin and the accession to power of the Hincks-Morin administration.

Towards the end of 1850 there arrived in Canada copies of a pastoral letter by Cardinal Wiseman, defending the famous papal bull which divided England into sees of the Roman Catholic Church, and gave territorial titles to the bishops. Sir E. P. Taché, a member of the government, showed one of these to Mr. Brown, and jocularly challenged him to publish it in the *Globe*. Brown accepted the challenge, declaring that he would also publish a reply, to be written by himself. The reply, which will be found in the *Globe* of December 19th, 1850, is argumentative in tone, and probably would not of itself have involved Brown in a violent quarrel with the Church. The following passage was afterwards cited by the *Globe* as defining its position: "In offering a few remarks upon Dr. Wiseman's production, we have no intention to discuss the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church, but merely to look at the question in its secular aspect. As advocates of the voluntary principle we give to every man full liberty to worship as his conscience dictates, and without penalty, civil or ecclesiastical, attaching to his exercise thereof. We would allow each sect to give to its pastors what titles it sees fit, and to prescribe the extent of spiritual duties; but we would have the State recognize no ecclesiastical titles or boundaries whatever. The public may, from courtesy, award what titles they please; but the statute-book should recognize none. The voluntary principle is the great cure for such dissensions as now agitate Great Britain."

The cause of conflict lay outside the bounds of that article. Cardinal Wiseman's letter and Lord John Russell's reply had thrown England into a ferment of religious excitement. "Lord John Russell," says Justin McCarthy, "who had more than any man living been identified with the principles of religious liberty, who had sat at the feet of Fox and had for his closest friend the poet, Thomas Moore, came to be regarded by the Roman Catholics as the bitterest enemy of their creed and their rights of worship."

It is evident that this hatred of Russell was carried across the Atlantic, and that Brown was regarded as his ally. In the Haldimand election a hand-bill signed, "An Irish Roman Catholic" was circulated. It assailed Brown fiercely for the support he had given to Russell, and for the general course of the *Globe* in regard to Catholic questions. Russell was described as attempting "to twine again around the writhing limbs of ten millions of Catholics the chains that our own O'Connell rescued us from in 1829." A vote for George Brown would help to rivet these spiritual chains round the souls of Irishmen, and to crush the religion for which Ireland had wept oceans of blood; those who voted for Brown would be prostrating themselves like cowardly slaves or beasts of burden before the avowed enemies of their country, their religion and their God. "You will think of the gibbets, the triangles, the lime-pits, the tortures, the hangings of the past. You will reflect on the struggles of the present against the new penal bill. You will look forward to the dangers, the triumphs, the hopes of the future, and then you will go to the polls and vote against George Brown."

This was not the only handicap with which Brown entered on his first election contest. There was no cordial sympathy between him and the government, yet he was hampered by his connection with the government. The dissatisfied Radicals rallied to the support of William Lyon Mackenzie, whose sufferings in exile also made a strong appeal to the hearts of Reformers, and Mackenzie was elected.

In his election address Brown declared himself for perfect religious equality, the separation of

Church and State, and the diversion of the clergy reserves from denominational to educational purposes. "I am in favour of national school education free from sectarian teaching, and available without charge to every child in the province. I desire to see efficient grammar schools established in each county, and that the fees of these institutions and of the national university should be placed on such a scale as will bring a high literary and scientific education within the reach of men of talent in any rank of life." He advocated free trade in the fullest sense, expressing the hope that the revenue from public lands and canals, with strict economy, would enable Canada "to dispense with the whole customs department."

Brown's estrangement from the government did not become an open rupture so long as Baldwin and Lafontaine were at the head of affairs. In the summer following Brown's defeat in Haldimand, Baldwin resigned owing to a resolution introduced by William Lyon Mackenzie, for the abolition of the Court of Chancery. The resolution was defeated, but obtained the votes of a majority of the Upper Canadian members, and Mr. Baldwin regarded their action as an indication of want of confidence in himself. He dropped some expressions, too, which indicated that he was moved by larger considerations. He was conservative in his views, and he regarded the Mackenzie vote as a sign of a flood of radicalism which he felt powerless to stay.

Shortly afterwards Lafontaine retired. He, also, was conservative in his temperament, and weary of public life. The passing of Baldwin and Lafontaine from the scene helped to clear the way for Mr. Brown to take his own course, and it was not long before the open breach occurred. When Mr. Hincks became premier, Mr. Brown judged that the time had come for him to speak out. He felt that he must make a fair start with the new government, and have a clear understanding at the outset. A new general election was approaching, and he thought that the issue of separation of Church and State must be clearly placed before the country. In an article in the *Globe* entitled "The Crisis," it was declared that the time for action had come. One parliament had been lost to the friends of religious equality; they could not afford to lose another. It was contended that the Upper Canadian Reformers suffered by their connection with the Lower Canadian party. Complaint was made that the Hon. E. P. Taché had advised Roman Catholics to make common cause with Anglicans in resisting the secularization of the clergy reserves, had described the advocates of secularization as "pharisaical brawlers," and had said that the Church of England need not fear their hostility, because the "contrabalancing power" of the Lower Canadians would be used to protect the Anglican Church. This, said the *Globe*, was a challenge which the friends of religious equality could not refuse. Later on, Mr.

Brown wrote a series of letters to Mr. Hincks, setting forth fully his grounds of complaint against the government: failure to reform the representation of Upper Canada, slackness in dealing with the secularization of the clergy reserves, weakness in yielding to the demand for separate schools. All this he attributed to Roman Catholic or French-Canadian influence.

CHAPTER V

THE CLERGY RESERVES

THE clergy reserves were for many years a fruitful source of discontent and agitation in Canada. They had their origin in a provision of the Constitutional Act of 1791, that there should be reserved for the maintenance and support of a "Protestant clergy" in Upper and Lower Canada "a quantity of land equal in value to a seventh part of grants that had been made in the past or might be made in the future." It was provided also that rectories might be erected and endowed according to the establishment of the Church of England. The legislatures were to be allowed to vary or repeal these enactments, but such legislation was not to receive the royal assent before it had been laid before both Houses of the imperial parliament.

Did the words "Protestant clergy" apply to any other body than the Church of England? A vast amount of legal learning was expended on this question; but there can be little doubt that the intention to establish and endow the Church of England was thoroughly in accord with the ideas of colonial government prevailing from the conquest to the end of the eighteenth century. In the instructions to Murray and other early governors there are constant injunctions for the support of a Protestant clergy and Protestant schools, "to the end that the Church of England may be established both in principles and practice."[1] Governor Simcoe, we are told, attached much importance to "every establishment of Church and State that upholds a distinction of ranks and lessens the undue weight of the democratic influence." "The episcopal system was interwoven and connected with the monarchical foundations of our government."[2] In pursuance of this idea, which was also that of the ruling class in Canada, the country was to be made as much unlike the United States as possible by the intrenchment of class and ecclesiastical privileges, and this was the policy pursued up to the time that responsible government was obtained. Those outside the dominant caste, in religion as in politics, were branded as rebels, annexationists, Yankees, republicans. And as this dominant caste, until the arrival of Lord Elgin, had the ear of the authorities at home, it is altogether likely that the Act of 1791 was framed in accordance with their views.

The law was unjust, improvident, and altogether unsuited to the circumstances of the colony. Lord Durham estimated that the members and adherents of the Church of England, allowing its largest claim, were not more than one-third, probably not more than one-fourth, of the population of Upper Canada. Methodists, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics, each claimed a larger membership. He declared that the sanction given to the exclusive claims of the Church of England by Sir John Colborne's establishment of fifty-seven rectories, was, in the opinion of many persons, the chief predisposing cause of the rebellion, and it was an abiding and unabated cause of discontent.[1]

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[1] Instructions to Governor Murray, *Canadian Archives of 1904*, p. 218.

[2] Professor Shortt in the *Canadian Magazine*, September, 1901.

Not only was the spirit of the colony opposed to the establishment and domination of any Church, but settlement was retarded and the hardships of the settler increased by the locking up of enormous tracts of land. In addition to the clergy reserves, grants were made to officials, to militia men, to the children of United Empire Loyalists and others, in the hope that these persons would settle on the land. Many of these fell into the hands of speculators and jobbers, who bought farms of two hundred acres for prices ranging from a gallon of rum to £5. "The greater part of these grants," said Mr. Hawke, a government official whose evidence is given in the appendix to Durham's Report, "remain in an unimproved state. These blocks of wild land place the actual settler in an almost hopeless condition ; he can hardly expect during his lifetime to see his neighbourhood contain a population sufficiently dense to support mills, schools, post-offices, places of worship, markets or shops, without which civilization retrogrades. Roads, under such circumstances, can neither be opened by the settlers nor kept in proper repair. In 1834 I met a settler from the township of Warwick, on the Caradoc Plains, returning from the grist mill at Westminster, with the flour and bran of thirteen bushels of wheat. He had a yoke of oxen and a horse attached to his wagon, and had been absent nine days and did not expect to reach home until the following evening. Light as his load was, he assured me that he had to unload, wholly or in part, several times, and after driving his wagon through the swamps, to pick out a road through the woods where the swamps or gullies were fordable, and to carry the bags on his back and replace them in the wagon."

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[1] Durham's *Report on the Affairs of British North America.* Methuen's reprint, pp. 125, 126.

It is unnecessary here to discuss differences of opinion as to the interpretation of the law, attempts to divide the endowment among various denominations, or other efforts at compromise. The radical wing of the Reform party demanded that the special provision for the support of the Church of England should be abolished, and a system of free popular education established. With this part of their platform Brown was heartily in accord; on this point he agreed with the Clear Grits that the Baldwin-Lafontaine government was moving too slowly, and when Baldwin was succeeded by Hincks in 1851, the restraining influence of his respect for Baldwin being removed, his discontent was converted into open and determined opposition.

Largely by the influence of Brown and the *Globe*, public opinion in 1851 was aroused to a high degree, and meetings were held to advocate the secularization of the clergy reserves. The friends of the old order were singularly unfortunate in their mode of expressing their opinions. Opposition to responsible government was signalized by the burning of the parliament buildings, and the mobbing of Lord Elgin in Montreal. Opposition to religious equality was signalized by the mobbing of an orderly assembly in Toronto. One meeting of the opponents of the clergy reserves was broken up by these means, and a second meeting was attacked by a mob with such violence as to necessitate the calling out of a company of British soldiers. This meeting was held in St. Lawrence Hall, over the city market bearing that name. Mr. Brown was chosen to move a resolution denouncing State endowments of religion, and did so in a speech of earnestness and argumentative power. He compared the results of Church establishments with those of voluntary effort in England, in Scotland, in France, and in Canada, and denounced "State-churchism" as the author of pride, intolerance and spiritual coldness. "When," he said, "I read the history of the human race, and trace the dark record of wars and carnage, of tyranny, robbery and injustice in every shape, which have been the fruits of State-churchism in every age; when I observe the degenerating effect which it has ever had on the purity and simplicity of the Gospel of Christ, turning men's minds from its great truths, as a religion of the heart, to the mere outward tinsel, to the forms and ceremonies on which priestcraft flourishes; when I see that at all times it has been made the instrument of the rich and powerful in oppressing the poor and weak, I cannot but reject it utterly as in direct hostility to the whole spirit of the Gospel, to that glorious system which teaches men to set not their hearts on this world, and to walk humbly before God." He held that it was utterly impossible for the State to teach religious truth. "There is no standard for truth. We cannot even agree on the meaning of words." Setting aside the injustice of forcing men to pay money for the support of what they deemed religious error, it was "most dangerous to admit that the magistrate is to decide for God—for that is the plain meaning of the establishment principle. Once admit that principle, and no curb can be set upon its operation. Who shall restrict what God has appointed? And thus the extent to which the conscience of men may be constrained, or persecution for truth's sake may be carried, depends entirely on the ignorance or enlightenment of the civil magistrate. There is no safety out of the principle that religion is a matter entirely between man and his God, and that the whole duty of the magistrate is to secure every one in the peaceful observance of it. Anything else leads to oppression and injustice, but this can never lead to either."

A notable part of the speech was a defence of free, non-sectarian education. "I can conceive," he said, "nothing more unprincipled than a scheme to array the youth of the province in sectarian bands —to teach them, from the cradle up, to know each other as Methodist boys, and Presbyterian boys, and Episcopal boys. Surely, surely, we have enough of this most wretched sectarianism in our churches without carrying it further."

To protect themselves from interruption, the advocates of secularization had taken advantage of a law which allowed them to declare their meeting as private, and exclude disturbers. Their opponents held another meeting in the adjoining market-place where by resolution they expressed indignation at the repeated attempts of "a Godless association" to stir up religious strife, and declared that the purposes of the association, if carried out, would bring about not only the severance of British connection, but socialism, republicanism, and infidelity. The horrified listeners were told how Rousseau and Voltaire had corrupted France, how religion was overthrown and the naked Goddess of Reason set up as an object of worship. They were told that the clergy reserves were a gift to the nation from "our good King George the Third." Abolish them and the British flag would refuse to float over anarchy and confusion. Finally, they were assured that they could thrash the St. Lawrence Hall audience in a stand-up fight, but were nevertheless advised to go quietly home. This advice was apparently accepted in the spirit of the admonition: "Don't nail his ears to the pump," for the crowd immediately marched to St. Lawrence Hall, cheering, groaning, and shouting. They were met by the mayor, two aldermen, and the chief constable, and told that they could not be admitted. Stones and bricks were thrown through the windows of the hall. The Riot Act was read by an alderman, and the British regiment then quartered in the town, the 71st, was sent for. There was considerable delay in bringing the troops, and in the meantime there was great disorder; persons leaving the hall were assaulted, and the mayor was struck in the face with a stone and severely cut. A company of the 71st arrived at midnight, after which the violence of the mob abated.[1]

The steps leading up to the settlement of the question may be briefly referred to. In 1850 the Canadian parliament had asked for power to dispose of the reserves, with the understanding that emoluments derived by existing incumbents should be guaranteed during their lives. The address having been forwarded to England, Lord John Russell informed the governor-general that a bill would be introduced in compliance with the wish of the Canadian parliament. But in 1852 the Russell

[1] The *Globe*, July, 1851.

government resigned, and was succeeded by that of the Earl of Derby. Derby (Lord Stanley) had been colonial secretary in the Peel government, which had shown a strong bias against Canadian self-government. Sir John Pakington declared that the advisers of Her Majesty were not inclined to aid in the diversion to other purposes of the only public fund for the support of divine worship and religious instruction in Canada, though they would entertain proposals for new dispositions of the fund. Hincks, who was then in England, protested vigorously against the disregard of the wishes of the Canadian people. When the legislature assembled in 1852, it carried, at his instance, an address to the Crown strongly upholding the Canadian demand. Brown contended that the language was too strong and the action too weak. He made a counter proposal, which found little support, that the Canadian parliament itself enact a measure providing for the sale of the clergy lands to actual settlers, and the appropriation of the funds for the maintenance of common schools.

With the fall of the Derby administration in England, ended the opposition from that source to the Canadian demands. But Hincks, who had firmly vindicated the right of the Canadian parliament to legislate on the matter, now hesitated to use the power placed in his hands, and declared that legislation should be deferred until a new parliament had been chosen. The result was that the work of framing the measure of settlement fell into the hands of John A. Macdonald, the rising star of the Conservative party. The fund, after provision had been made for the vested rights of incumbents, was turned over to the municipalities.

CHAPTER VI

BROWN'S FIRST PARLIAMENT

IN the autumn of 1851 parliament was dissolved, and in September Mr. Brown received a requisition from the Reformers of Kent to stand as their candidate, one of the signatures being that of Alexander Mackenzie, afterwards premier of Canada. In accepting the nomination he said that he anticipated that he would be attacked as an enemy of the Roman Catholic Church; that he cordially adhered to the principles of the Protestant reformation; that he objected to the Roman Catholic Church trenching on the civil rights of the community, but that he would be ashamed to advocate any principle or measure which would restrict the liberty of any man, or deprive him on account of his faith of any right or advantage enjoyed by his fellow-subjects. In his election address he advocated religious equality, the entire separation of Church and State, the secularization of the clergy reserves, the proceeds to go to national schools, which were thus to be made free. He advocated, also, the building of a railway from Quebec to Windsor and Sarnia, the improvement of the canals and waterways, reciprocity with the Maritime Provinces and the United States, a commission for the reform of law procedure, the extension of the franchise and the reform of representation. Representation by population afterwards came to be the watchword of those who demanded that Upper Canada should have a larger representation than Lower Canada; but as yet this question had not arisen definitely. The population of Upper Canada was nearly doubled between 1842 and 1851, but it did not appear until 1852 that it had passed the lower province in population.

The advocacy of free schools was an important part of the platform. During the month of January, 1852, the *Globe* contained frequent articles, reports of public meetings, and letters on the subject. It was contended by some of the opponents of free schools that the poor could obtain free education by pleading their poverty; but the *Globe* replied that education should not be a matter of charity, but should be regarded as a right, like the use of pavements. The matter was made an issue in the election of school trustees in several places, and in the Toronto election the advocates of free schools were successful.

It will be convenient to note here that Brown's views on higher education corresponded with his views on public schools. In each case he opposed sectarian control, on the ground that it would dissipate the energies of the people, and divide among half a dozen sects the money which might maintain one efficient system. These views were fully set forth in a speech made on February 25th, 1853, upon a bill introduced by Mr. Hincks to amend the law relating to the University of Toronto. Brown denounced the measure as a surrender to the sectaries. There were two distinct ideas, he said, in regard to higher education in Upper Canada. One was that a university must be connected with a Church and under the management of the clergy, without whose control infidelity would prevail. The Reform party, led by Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Hincks, had denounced these views as the mere clap-trap of priestcraft. They held that there should be one great literary and scientific institution, to which all Canadians might resort on equal terms. This position was founded, not on contempt for religion, but on respect for religion, liberty, and conscience. "To no one principle does the Liberal party owe so many triumphs as to that of non-sectarian university education." Until 1843 Anglican control prevailed; then various unsuccessful efforts at compromise were made, and finally, in 1849, after twenty years of agitation, the desire of the Liberal party was fulfilled, and a noble institute of learning established. This act alone would have entitled Robert Baldwin to the lasting gratitude of his countrymen.

Continuing, Brown said that the Hincks bill was reactionary—that the original draft even contained a reference to the godless character of the institution—that the plan would fritter away the endowment by dividing it among sects and among localities. He opposed the abolition of the faculties of law and medicine. Rightly directed, the study of law was ennobling, and jurists should receive an education which would give them broad and generous views of the principles of justice. The endowment of the university ought to be sufficient to attract eminent teachers, and to encourage students by scholarships. "We are laying the foundations of a great political and social system. Our vote today may deeply affect, for good or evil, the future of the country. I adjure the House to pause ere destroying an institution which may one day be among the chief glories of a great and wise people."

Brown was elected by a good majority. The general result of the election was favourable to the Hincks-Morin administration. A large part of the interval between the election and the first session of the new parliament was spent by Mr. Hincks in England, where he made some progress in the settlement of the clergy reserve question, and where he also made arrangements for the building of the Grand Trunk Railway from Montreal westward through Upper Canada. Negotiations for the building of the Intercolonial Railway, connecting Lower Canada with the Maritime Provinces, fell through, and the enterprise was delayed for some years.

It was a matter of some importance that the first parliament in which Mr. Brown took part was held in the city of Quebec. He had entered on a course which made Catholics and French-Canadians regard him as their enemy, and in Quebec French and Catholic influence was dominant. Brown felt keenly the hostility of his surroundings, and there are frequent references in his speeches and in the correspondence of the *Globe* to the unfriendly faces in the gallery of the chamber, and to the social power exercised by the Church. "Nothing," says the Hon. James Young, " could exceed the courage and eloquence with which Brown stood up night after night, demanding justice for Upper Canada in the face of a hostile majority on the floor of the chamber and still more hostile auditors in the galleries above. So high, indeed, did public feeling run on some occasions that fears were entertained for his personal safety, and his friends occasionally insisted after late and exciting debates, lasting often till long after midnight, on accompanying him."[1] Mr. Young adds that these fears were not shared by Mr. Brown, and that they proved to be groundless. Mr. Brown, in fact, did not regard the Quebec influence as a personal grievance, but he argued that on public grounds the legislature ought not to meet in a city where freedom of speech might be impaired by local sentiment. That he harboured no malice was very finely shown when parliament met four years afterwards in Toronto. He had just concluded a powerful speech. The galleries were crowded, this time with a friendly audience, which at length broke into applause. Brown checked the demonstration. "I have addressed none," he said, "but members of this House, and trust that members from Lower Canada will not be overawed by any manifestation of feeling in this chamber. I shall be ready on all occasions to discourage it. In Lower Canada I stood almost alone in supporting my views, and I well know how painful these manifestations are to a stranger in a strange place. I do sincerely trust that gentlemen of French origin will feel as free to speak here as if they were in Quebec."

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[1] Young's *Public Men and Public Life in Canada*, p. 83.

Brown made his maiden speech during the debate on the address. It is described in a contemporary account as "a terrible onslaught on the government." An idea of violence conveyed in this and other comments would appear to have been derived from the extreme energy of Brown's gestures. The printed report of the speech does not give that impression. Though severe, it was in the main historical and argumentative. It contained a review of the political history of Canada from the time of the rupture between Metcalfe and his ministers, up to the time when the principle of responsible government was conceded. Brown argued that Reformers were bound to stand by that principle, and to accept all its obligations. In his judgment it was essential to the right working of responsible government that parties should declare their principles clearly and stand or fall by them. If they held one set of principles out of office and another set in office they would reduce responsible government to a farce. He acknowledged the services which Hincks and Morin had rendered in fighting for responsible government; but he charged them with betraying that principle by their own conduct in office. Two systems of government, he said, were being tested on this continent. The American system contained checks and balances. The British system could be carried on only by the observance of certain unwritten laws, and especially a strict good faith and adherence to principle. Brown, as a party man, adhered firmly to Burke's definition of party: "A body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest, upon some particular principle on which they are all agreed." Office-holding, with him, was a minor consideration. "There is no theory in the principle of responsible government more vital to its right working than that parties shall take their stand on the prominent questions of the day, and mount to office or resign it through the success or failure of principles to which they are attached. This is the great safeguard for the public against clap-trap professions."

CHAPTER VII

RISE OF BROWN'S INFLUENCE

THE condition of parties in the legislature was peculiar. The most formidable antagonist of the Reform government was the man who was rapidly rising to the leadership of the Reform party. The old Tory party was dead, and its leader, Sir Allan MacNab, was almost inactive. Macdonald, who was to re-organize and lead the new Conservative party, was playing a waiting game, taking advantage of Brown's tremendous blows at the ministry, and for the time being satisfied with a less prominent part in the conflict. Brown rapidly rose to a commanding position in the assembly. He did this without any *finesse* or skill in the management of men, with scarcely any assistance, and almost entirely by his own energy and force of conviction. His industry and capacity for work were prodigious. He spoke frequently, and on a wide range of subjects requiring careful study and mastery of facts. In the divisions he obtained little support. He had antagonized the French-Canadians, the Clear Grits of Upper Canada were for the time determined to stand by the government, and his views were usually not such as the Conservatives could endorse, although they occasionally followed him in order to embarrass the government.

Brown's course in parliament, however, was pointing to a far more important result than changes in the personnel of office-holders. Hincks once told him that the logical conclusion of that course was the dissolution of the union. There was a measure of truth in this. If he had said dissolution or modification, he would have been absolutely right. Between the ideas of Upper Canada and Lower Canada there was a difference so great that a legislative union was foredoomed to failure, and separation could be avoided only by a federation which allowed each community to take its own way. Brown did not create these difficulties, but he emphasized them, and so forced and hastened the application of the remedy. Up to the time of his entering parliament, his policy had related mainly to Upper Canada. In parliament, however, a mass of legislation emanating from Lower Canada aroused his strong opposition. In the main it was ecclesiastical legislation incorporating Roman Catholic institutions, giving them power to hold lands, to control education, and otherwise to strengthen the authority of the Church over the people. It is not necessary to discuss these measures in detail. The object is to arrive at Brown's point of view, and it was this: That the seat of government was a Catholic city, and that legislation and administration were largely controlled by the French-Canadian priesthood. He complained that Upper Canada was unfairly treated in regard to legislation and expenditure; that its public opinion was disregarded, and that it was not fairly represented. The question of representation steadily assumed more importance in his mind, and he finally came to the conclusion that representation by population was the true remedy for all the grievances of which he complained. Lower Canada, being now numerically the weaker, naturally clung to the system which gave it equality of representation.

In all these matters the breach between George Brown and the Lower Canadian representatives was widening, while he was becoming more and more the voice of Upper Canadian opinion. When, in the intervals between parliamentary sessions, he visited various places in Upper Canada, he found himself the most popular man in the community. He addressed great public meetings. Banquets were given in his honour. The prominent part taken by ministers of the Gospel at these gatherings illustrates at once the weakness and the strength of his position. He satisfied the "Nonconformist conscience" of Upper Canada by his advocacy not only of religious equality but of the prohibition of the liquor traffic and of the cessation of Sunday labour by public servants. But this very attitude made it difficult for him to work with any political party in Lower Canada.

In 1853 there was a remarkable article in the

Cobourg *Star*, a Conservative journal, illustrating the hold which Brown had obtained upon Upper Canadian sentiment. This article was called forth by a banquet given to Brown by the Reformers of the neighbourhood. It expressed regret that the honour was given on party grounds. "Had it been given on the ground of his services to Protestantism, it would have brought out every Orangeman in the country. Conservatives disagreed with Brown about the clergy reserves, but if the reserves must be secularized, every Conservative in Canada would join Brown in his crusade against Roman Catholic endowments." Then follows this estimate of Brown's character: "In George Brown we see no agitator or demagogue, but the strivings of common sense, a sober will to attain the useful, the practical and the needful. He has patient courage, stubborn endurance, and obstinate resistance, and desperate daring in attacking what he believes to be wrong and in defending what he believes to be right. There is no cant or parade or tinsel or clap-trap about him. He takes his stand against open, palpable, tangible wrongs, against the tyranny which violates men's roofs, and the intolerance which vexes their consciences. True, he is wrong on the reserves question, but then he is honest, we know where to find him. He does not, like some of our Reformers, give us to understand that he will support us and then turn his back. He does not slip the word of promise to the ear and then break it to the lips. Leaving the reserves out of the question, George Brown is eminently conservative in his spirit. His leading principle, as all his writings will show, is to reconcile progress with preservation, change with stability, the alteration of incidents with the maintenance of essentials. Change, for the sake of change, agitation for vanity, for applause or mischief, he has contemptuously repudiated. He is not like the Clear Grit, a republican of the first water, but on the contrary looks to the connection with the mother country, not as fable or unreality or fleeting vision, but as alike our interest and our duty, as that which should ever be our beacon, our guide and our goal."

In 1853 the relative strength of Brown and the ministers was tested in a series of demonstrations held throughout Canada. The Hon. James Young gives a vivid description of Brown as he appeared at a banquet given in his honour at Galt: "He was a striking figure. Standing fully six feet two inches high, with a well-proportioned body, well balanced head and handsome face, his appearance not only indicated much mental and physical strength, but conveyed in a marked manner an impression of youthfulness and candour. These impressions deepened as his address proceeded, and his features grew animated and were lighted up by his fine expressive eyes." His voice was strong and soft, with a well-marked Edinburgh accent. His appearance surprised the people who had expected to see an older and sterner-looking man. His first remarks were disappointing; as was usual with him he stammered and hesitated until he warmed to his subject, when he spoke with such an array of facts and figures, such earnestness and enthusiasm, that he easily held the audience for three hours.[1]

On October 1st, 1853, the *Globe* was first issued as a daily. It was then stated that the paper was first published as a weekly paper with a circulation of three hundred. On November 1st, 1846, it was published twice a week with a circulation of two thousand, which rose to a figure between three thousand and four thousand. In July, 1849, it was issued three times a week. When the daily paper was first published the circulation was six thousand. To anticipate a little, it may be said that in 1855 the *Globe* absorbed the *North American* and the *Examiner*, and the combined circulation was said to be sixteen thousand four hundred and thirty-six. The first daily paper contained a declaration of principles, including the entire separation of Church and State, the abolition of the clergy reserves and the restoration of the lands to the public, cessation of grants of public money for sectarian purposes, the abolition of tithes and other compulsory taxation for ecclesiastical purposes, and restraint on land-holding by ecclesiastical corporations.

An extract from this statement of policy may be given:

[1] Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 59.

"Representation by population. Justice for Upper Canada! While Upper Canada has a larger population by one hundred and fifty thousand than Lower Canada, and contributes more than double the amount of taxation to the general revenue, Lower Canada has an equal number of representatives in parliament.

"National education.—Common school, grammar school, and collegiate free from sectarianism and open to all on equal terms. Earnest war will be waged with the separate school system, which has unfortunately obtained a footing.

"A prohibitory liquor law.—Any measure which will alleviate the frightful evils of intemperance."

The inclusion of prohibition on this platform was the natural result of the drinking habits of that day. In a pamphlet issued by the Canada Company for the information of intending immigrants, whiskey was described as "a cheap and wholesome beverage." Its cheapness and abundance caused it to be used in somewhat the same way as the "small beer" of England, and it was a common practice to order a jug from the grocer along with the food supply of the family. When a motion favouring prohibition was introduced in the Canadian parliament there were frequent references to the convivial habits of the members. The seconder of the motion was greeted with loud laughter. He good-naturedly said that he was well aware of the cause of hilarity, but that he was ready to sacrifice his pleasure to the general good. Sir Allan MacNab, the leader of the Opposition, moved a farcical amendment, under which every member was to sign a pledge of abstinence, and to be disqualified if he broke it. Brown made an earnest speech in favour of the motion, in which he remarked that Canada then contained nine hundred and thirty-one whiskey shops, fifty-eight steamboat bars, three thousand four hundred and thirty taverns, one hundred and thirty breweries, and one hundred and thirty-five distilleries.

The marked diminution of intemperance in the last fifty years may be attributed in part to restrictive laws, and in part to the work of the temperance societies, which rivalled the taverns in social attractions, and were effective agents of moral suasion.

CHAPTER VIII

RECONSTRUCTION OF PARTIES

IN June, 1854, the Hincks-Morin government was defeated in the legislature on a vote of censure for delay in dealing with the question of the clergy reserves. A combination of Tories and Radicals deprived Hincks of all but five of his Upper Canadian supporters. Parliament was immediately dissolved, and the ensuing election was a *mêlée* in which Hincks Reformers, Brown Reformers, Tories and Clear Grits were mingled in confusion. Brown was returned for Lambton, where he defeated the Hon. Malcolm Cameron, postmaster-general under Hincks. The Reform party was in a large majority in the new legislature, and if united could have controlled it with ease. But the internal quarrel was irreconcilable. Hincks was defeated by a combination of Tories and dissatisfied Reformers, and a general reconstruction of parties followed. Sir Allan MacNab, as leader of the Conservative opposition, formed an alliance with the French-Canadian members of the Hincks government and with some of its Upper Canadian supporters. Hincks retired, but gave his support to the new combination, "being of opinion that the combination of parties by which the new government was supported presented the only solution of the difficulties caused by a coalition of parties holding no sentiments in common, a coalition which rarely takes place in England. I deemed it my duty to give my support to that government during the short period that I continued in public life."[1]

Whether the MacNab-Morin government was a true coalition or a Tory combination under that name was a question fiercely debated at that time. It certainly did not stand for the Toryism that had resisted responsible government, the secularization of the clergy reserves, and the participation of French-Canadians in the government of the country. It had at first some of the elements of a coalition, but it gradually came to represent Conservatism and the personal ascendency of John A. Macdonald. Robert Baldwin, from his retirement, gave his approval to the combination, and hence arose the "Baldwin Reformer," blessed as a convert by one party, and cursed as a renegade by the other.

Reconstruction on one side was followed by reconstruction on the other. Upper Canadian Reformers rallied round Brown, and an alliance was formed with the Quebec Rouges. This was a natural alliance of radical Reformers in both provinces. Some light is thrown on it by an article published in the *Globe* in 1855. The writer said that in 1849, some young men of Montreal, fresh from the schools and filled to the brim with the Republican opinions which had spread from France throughout all Europe, formed associations and established newspapers advocating extreme political views. They declaimed in favour of liberty and against priestcraft and tyranny with all the ardour and freshness of youth. Their talents and the evident purity and sincerity of their motives made a strong impression on their countrymen, contrasting as they did with the selfishness and mediocrity of other French-Canadian leaders, and the result was that the Rouge party was growing in strength both in the House and in the country. With the growth of strength there had come a growing sense of responsibility, greater moderation and prudence. In the legislature, at least, the Rouges had not expressed a single sentiment on general politics to which a British constitutional Reformer might not assent. They were the true allies of the Upper Canadian Reformers, and in fact the only Liberals among the French-Canadians. They had Reform principles, they maintained a high standard of political morality. They stood for the advance of education and for liberty of speech. They were the hope of Canada, and their attitude gave promise that a brighter day was about to dawn on the political horizon.

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[1] Hincks's *Political History of Canada*, p. 80.

It was unreasonable to expect that the Liberals could continue to receive that solid support from Lower Canada which they had received in the days of the Baldwin-Lafontaine alliance. In those days the issue was whether French-Canadians should be allowed to take part in the government of the country, or should be excluded as rebels. The Reformers championed their cause and received the solid support of the French-Canadian people. But when once the principle for which they contested was conceded, it was perceived that Lower Canada, like Upper Canada, had its Conservative element, and party lines were formed. Mr. Brown held that there could be no lasting alliance between Upper Canadian Reformers and Lower Canadian Conservatives, and especially with those Lower Canadians who defended the power and privileges of the Church. He was perfectly willing that electors holding these views should go to the Conservative party, which was their proper place. The Rouges could not bring to the Liberal party the numerical strength of the supporters of Lafontaine, but as they really held Liberal principles, the alliance was solidly based and was more likely to endure.

The leader of the Rouges was A. A. Dorion, a distinguished advocate, and a man of culture, refinement and eloquence. He was Brown's deskmate, and while in physique and manner the two were strongly contrasted, they were drawn together by the chivalry and devotion to principle which characterized both, and they formed a strong friendship. "For four years," said Mr. Brown, in a public address, "I acted with him in the ranks of the Opposition, learned to value most highly the uprightness of his character, the liberality of his opinions, and the firmness of his convictions. On most questions of public general policy we heartily agreed, and regularly voted together; on the questions that divided all Upper Canadians and all Lower Canadians alone we differed, and on these we had held many earnest consultations from year to year with a view to their removal, without arriving at the conviction that when we had the opportunity we could find the mode." Their habit was not to attempt to conceal these sectional differences, but to recognize them frankly with a view to finding the remedy. It was rarely that either presented a resolution to the House without asking the advice of the other. They knew each other's views perfectly, and on many questions, especially of commerce and finance, they were in perfect accord.

By this process of evolution Liberals and Conservatives were restored to their proper and historic places, and the way was cleared for new issues. These issues arose out of the ill-advised attempt to join Upper and Lower Canada in a legislative union. A large part of the history of this period is the history of an attempt to escape the consequences of that blunder. This was the reason why every ministry had its double name—the Lafontaine-Baldwin, the Hincks-Morin, the Taché-Macdonald, the Brown-Dorion, the Macdonald-Sicotte. This was the reason why every ministry had its attorney-general east for Lower Canada and its attorney-general west for Upper Canada. In his speech on confederation Sir John Macdonald said that although the union was legislative in name, it was federal in fact—that in matters affecting Upper Canada alone, Upper Canadian members claimed and usually exercised, exclusive power. and so with Lower Canada. The consolidated statutes of Lower Canada and the consolidated statutes of Upper Canada must be sought in separate volumes. The practice of legislating for one province alone was not confined to local or private matters. For instance, as the two communities had widely different ideas as to Sabbath observance, the stricter law was enacted for Upper Canada alone. Hence also arose the theory of the double majority—that a ministry must, for the support of its general policy, have a majority from each province.

But all these shifts and devices could not stay the agitation for a radical remedy. Some Reformers proposed to dissolve the union. Brown believed that the difficulty would be solved by representation by population, concerning which a word of explanation is necessary. When the provinces were united in 1841, the population of Lower Canada exceeded that of Upper Canada in the proportion of three to two. "If" said Lord Durham, "the population of Upper Canada is rightly estimated at four hundred thousand, the English inhabitants of Lower Canada at one hundred and fifty thousand, and the French at four hundred and fifty thousand, the union of the two provinces would not only give a clear English majority, but one which would be increased every year by the influence of English emigration, and I have little doubt that the French, when once placed by the legitimate course of events in a minority, would abandon their vain hopes of nationality." But he added that he was averse to every plan that had been proposed for giving an equal number of members to the two provinces. The object could be attained without any violation of the principles of representation, such as would antagonize public opinion, and "when emigration shall have increased the English population of the Upper Province, the adoption of such a principle would operate to defeat the very purpose it is intended to serve. It appears to me that any such electoral arrangement, founded on the present provincial divisions, would tend to defeat the purpose of union and perpetuate the idea of disunion."

Counsels less wise and just prevailed, and the united province was "gerrymandered" against Lord Durham's protest. Lower Canada complained of the injustice, and with good reason. In the course of time Lord Durham's prediction was fulfilled; by immigration the population of Upper Canada overtook and passed that of Lower Canada. The census of 1852 gave Upper Canada a population of nine hundred and fifty-two thousand, and Lower Canada a population of eight hundred and ninety thousand two hundred and sixty-one. Brown began to press for representation by population. He was met by two objections. It was argued on behalf of the French-Canadians that they had submitted to the injustice while they had the larger population, and that the Upper Canadians ought to follow their example. Mr. Brown admitted the force of this argument, but he met it by showing that the Lower Canadians had been under-represented for eight years, and that by the time the new representation went into force, the Upper Canadians would have suffered injustice for about an equal term, so that a balance might be struck. A more formidable objection was raised by Mr. Hincks, who said that the union was in the nature of a compact between two nations having widely different institutions; that the basis of the compact was equal representation, and that Brown's proposition would destroy that basis. Cartier said that representation by population could not be had without repeal of the union. The French-Canadians were afraid that they would be swamped, and would be obliged to accept the laws and institutions of the majority.

It is impossible to deny the force of these objections. In 1841 Lower Canada had been compelled to join a union in which the voting power of Upper Canada was arbitrarily increased. If this was due to distrust, to fear of "French domination," French-Canadians could not be blamed for showing an equal distrust of English domination, and for refusing to give up the barrier which, as they believed, protected their peculiar institutions. Ultimately the solution was found in the application of the federal system, giving unity in matters requiring common action, and freedom to differ in matters of local concern. Towards this solution events were tending, and the importance of Brown's agitation for representation by population, which gained immense force in Upper Canada, lies in its relation to the larger plan of confederation.

CHAPTER IX

SOME PERSONAL POLITICS

AFTER the burning of the parliament buildings in Montreal the seat of government oscillated between Quebec and Toronto. Toronto's turn came in the session of 1856. Macdonald was now the virtual, and was on the point of becoming the titular, leader of the party. Brown was equally conspicuous on the other side. During the debate on the address he was the central figure in a fierce struggle, and some one with a turn for statistics said that his name was mentioned three hundred and seventy-two times. The air was stimulating, and Brown's contribution to the debate was not of a character to turn away wrath.

Smarting under Brown's attack, Macdonald suddenly gave a new turn to the debate. He charged that Brown, while acting as a member and secretary of a commission appointed by the Lafontaine-Baldwin government to inquire into the condition of the provincial penitentiary, had falsified testimony, suborned convicts to commit perjury, and obtained the pardon of murderers to induce them to give false evidence. Though the assembly had by this time become accustomed to hard hitting, this outbreak created a sensation. Brown gave an indignant denial to the charges, and announced that he would move for a committee of inquiry. He was angrily interrupted by the solicitor-general, who flung the lie across the House. The solicitor-general was a son of the warden of the penitentiary who had been dismissed in consequence of the report of the commission. Macdonald was a strong personal friend of the warden, and had attempted some years before to bring his case before the assembly. Brown promptly moved for the committee, and it was not long before he presented that tribunal with a dramatic surprise. It was supposed that the report of the penitentiary committee had been burned, and the attack on Brown was made upon that supposition. When Mr. Brown was called as a witness, however, he produced the original report with all the evidence, and declared that it had never been out of his possession "for one hour." The effect of this disclosure on his assailants is shown in a letter addressed to the committee by VanKoughnet, Macdonald's counsel: "Mr. Macdonald," he said, "had been getting up his case on the assumption and belief that these minutes had been destroyed and could not be procured, and much of the labour he had been allowed to go to by Mr. Brown for that purpose would now be thrown away; the whole manner of giving evidence, etc., would now be altered."

The graver charges of subornation of perjury etc., were abandoned, and Macdonald's friends confined themselves to an attempt to prove that the inquiry had been unfairly conducted, that the warden had been harshly treated, and the testimony not fairly reported. It was a political committee with a Conservative majority, and the majority, giving up all hope of injuring Brown, bent its energies to saving Macdonald from the consequences of his reckless violence. The Liberal members asked for a complete exoneration of Mr. Brown. A supporter of the government was willing to exonerate Brown if Macdonald were allowed to escape without censure. A majority of the committee, however, took refuge in a rambling deliverance, which was sharply attacked in the legislature. Sir Allan MacNab bluntly declared that the charge had been completely disproved, and that the committee ought to have had the manliness to say so. Drummond, a member of the government, also said that the attack had failed. The accusers were willing to allow the matter to drop, and as a matter of fact the report was never put to a vote. But Mr. Brown would not allow them to escape so easily. Near the close of the session he made a speech which gave a new character to the discussion. Up to this time it had been a personal question between Brown and his assailants. Brown dealt with this aspect of the matter briefly but forcibly. He declared that not only his conduct but the character of the other commissioners was fully vindicated, and that a conspiracy to drive him from public life had signally failed. Conservative members had met him and admitted that there was no truth in the charges, but had pleaded that they must go with the party. Members had actually been asked to "pair" off on the question of upholding or destroying his character, before they had heard his defence.

From these personal matters he returned to the abuses that had been discovered by the commission. A terrible story of neglect and cruelty was told. These charges did not rest on the testimony of prisoners. They were sustained by the evidence of officers and by the records of the institution. "If," said the speaker, "every word of the witnesses called by the commissioners were struck out, and the case left to rest on the testimony of the warden's own witnesses and the official records of the prison, there would be sufficient to establish the blackest record of wickedness that ever disgraced a civilized country." Amid applause, expressions of amazement and cries of "Shame!" from the galleries, Brown told of the abuses laid bare by the prison commission. He told of prisoners fed with rotten meal and bread infested with maggots; of children beaten with cat and rawhide for childish faults; of a coffin-shaped box in which men and even women were made to stand or rather crouch, their limbs cramped, and their lungs scantily supplied with air from a few holes. Brown's speech virtually closed the case, although Macdonald strove to prove that the accounts of outrages were exaggerated, that the warden, Smith, was himself a kind-hearted man, and that he had been harshly treated by the commissioners.

In a letter written about this time, Macdonald said that he was carrying on a war against Brown, that he would prove him a most dishonest, dishonourable fellow, "and in doing so I will only pay him a debt that I owe him for abusing me for months together in his newspaper."[1] Whatever the provocation may have been, the personal relations of the two men were further embittered by this incident.

Eight years afterwards they were members of the coalition ministry by which confederation was brought about, and Brown's intimate friend, Alexander Mackenzie, says that the association was most distasteful to Brown, on account of the charges made in connection with the prison commission. That the leaders of the two parties were not merely political opponents but personal enemies must have embittered the party struggle; and it was certainly waged on both sides with fury, and with little regard either for the amenities of life or for fair play.

His work on the commission gave Brown a strong interest in prison reform. While the work of the commission was fresh in his mind he delivered an address in the Toronto Mechanics' Institute, in

[1] Pope's *Memoirs of Sir John Macdonald*, p. 161.

which he sketched the history of prison reform in England and the United States, and pointed out how backward Canada was in this phase of civilization. He pleaded for a more charitable treatment of those on whom the prison doors had closed. There were inmates of prisons who would stand guiltless in the presence of Him who searches the heart. There were guilty ones outside. We cannot, he said, expect human justice to be infallible; but we must not draw a hard and fast line between the world inside the prison and the world outside, as if the courts of justice had the divine power of judging between good and evil. In Canada, he said, we have no system of reforming the prisoner; even the chaplain or the teacher never enters the prison walls. "Children of eight and ten years of age are placed in our gaols, surrounded by hundreds of the worst criminals in the province." He went on to describe some of the evils of herding together hardened criminals, children, and persons charged with trifling offences. He advocated government inspection of prisons, a uniform system of discipline, strict classification and separation, secular and religious instruction, and the teaching of trades. The prisoner should be punished, but not made to feel that he was being degraded by society for the sake of revenge. Hope should be held out to those who showed repentance. The use of the lash for trifling offences against discipline was condemned. On the whole, his views were such as are now generally accepted, and he may be regarded as one of the pioneers of prison reform in Canada.

The habit of personal attack was further illustrated in the charge, frequently made by Mr. Brown's enemies, that he had been a defaulter in Scotland. The *North American* had printed this accusation during its fierce altercation with the *Globe*, but the editor, Mr. Macdougall, had afterwards apologized, and explained that it had crept into the paper during his absence and without his knowledge. In the session of 1858, a Mr. Powell, member for Carleton, renewed the attack in the House, and Mr. Brown made a reply of such compelling human interest that not a word can be added or taken away. He said: "This is not the first time that the insinuation has been made that I was a defaulter in my native city. It has been echoed before now from the organs of the ministry, and at many an election contest have I been compelled to sit patiently and hear the tale recounted in the ears of assembled hundreds. For fifteen years I have been compelled to bear in silence these imputations. I would that I could yet refrain from the painful theme, but the pointed and public manner in which the charge has now been made, and the fear that the public cause with which I am identified might suffer by my silence, alike tell me that the moment has come when I ought to explain the transaction, as I have always been able to explain it, and to cast back the vile charge of dishonesty on those who dared to make it. That my father was a merchant in the city of Edinburgh, and that he engaged in disastrous business speculations commencing in the inflated times of 1825 and 1826, terminating ten years afterwards in his failure, is undoubtedly true. And it is, unhappily, also true, that he did hold a public office, and that funds connected with that office were, at the moment of his sequestration, mixed up with his private funds, to the extent, I believe, of two thousand eight hundred pounds. For this sum four relatives and friends were sureties, and they paid the money. Part of that money has been repaid; every sixpence of it will be paid, and paid shortly. Property has been long set aside for the payment of that debt to its utmost farthing. My father felt that while that money remained unpaid there was a brand on himself and his family, and he has wrought, wrought as few men have wrought, to pay off, not only that, but other obligations of a sacred character. Many a bill of exchange, the proceeds of his labour, has he sent to old creditors who were in need of what he owed. For myself, sir, I have felt equally bound with my father; as his eldest son I felt that the fruits of my industry should stand pledged until every penny of those debts was paid and the honour of my family vindicated. An honourable member opposite, whom I regret to hear cheering on the person who made the attack, might have known that, under the legal advice of his relative, I long ago secured that in the event of my death before the accomplishment of our long-cherished purpose, after the payment of my own obligations, the full discharge of those sacred debts of my father should stand as a first charge on my ample estate. Debts, sir, which I was no more bound in law to pay than any gentleman who hears me. For the painful transaction to which I have been forced to allude, I am no more responsible than any gentleman in this assembly. It happened in 1836; I was at that time but seventeen years of age, I was totally unconnected with it, but, young as I was, I felt then, as I feel now, the obligation it laid upon me, and I vowed that I should never rest until every penny had been paid. There are those present who have known my every action since I set foot in this country; they know I have not eaten the bread of idleness, but they did not know the great object of my labour. The one end of my desire for wealth was that I might discharge those debts and redeem my father's honour. Thank God, sir, my exertions have not been in vain. Thank God, sir, I have long possessed property far more than sufficient for all my desires. But, as those gentlemen know, it is one thing in this country to have property, and another to be able to withdraw a large sum of money from a business in active operation; and many a night have I laid my head on my pillow after a day of toil, estimating and calculating if the time had yet arrived, when, with justice to those to whom I stood indebted, and without fear of embarrassment resulting, I might venture to carry out the purpose of my life. I have been accused of being ambitious; I have been charged with aspiring to the office of prime minister of this great country and of lending all my energies to the attainment of that end; but I only wish I could make my opponents understand how infinitely surpassing all this, how utterly petty and contemptible in my thoughts have been all such considerations, in comparison with the one longing desire to discharge those debts of honour and vindicate those Scottish principles that have been instilled into me since my youth. The honourable member for Cornwall [John Sandfield Macdonald] is well aware that every word I have spoken to-night has been long ago told him in private confidence, and he knows, too, that last summer I was rejoicing in the thought that I was at last in a position to visit my native land with the large sum necessary for all the objects I contemplated, and that I was only prevented from doing so by the financial storm which swept over the continent. Such, sir, are the circumstances upon which this attack is founded. Such the facts on which I have been denounced as a public defaulter and refugee from my native land. But why, asked the person who made the charge, has he sat silent under it? Why if the thing is false has he endured it so many years? What, sir, free myself from blame by inculpating one so dear! Say 'It was not I who was in fault, it was my father'? Rather would I have lost my right arm than utter such a word! No, sir, I waited the time when the charge could be met as it only might be fittingly met; and my only regret even now is that I have been compelled to speak before those debts have been entirely liquidated. But it is due, sir, to my aged father that I explain that it has not been with his will that these imputations have been so long pointed at me, and that it has only been by earnest remonstrance that I have prevented his vindicating me in public long ere now. No man in Toronto, perhaps, is more generally known in the community, and I think I could appeal even to his political opponents to say if there is a citizen of Toronto at this day more thoroughly respected and esteemed. With a full knowledge of all that has passed, and all the consequences that have flowed from a day of weakness, I will say that an honester man does not breathe the air of heaven; that no son feels prouder of his father than I do to-day; and that I would have submitted to the obloquy and reproach of his every act, not fifteen years, but fifty—ay, have gone down to the grave with the cold shade of the world upon me, rather than that one of his gray hairs should have been injured."

Public opinion was strongly influenced in Mr. Brown's favour by this incident. "The entire address," said a leading Conservative paper next day, "forms the most refreshing episode which the records of the Canadian House of Commons possess. Every true-hearted man must feel proud of one who has thus chivalrously done battle for his gray-haired sire. We speak deliberately when asserting that George Brown's position in the country is at this moment immeasurably higher than it ever previously has been. And though our political creed be diametrically antipodal to his own, we shall ever hail him as a credit to the land we love so well."

CHAPTER X

THE "DOUBLE SHUFFLE"

BY his advocacy of representation by population, by his opposition to separate schools, and his championship of Upper Canadian rights, Mr. Brown gained a remarkable hold upon the people. In the general elections of 1857 he was elected for the city of Toronto, in company with Mr. Robinson, a Conservative. The election of a Liberal in Toronto is a rare event, and there is no doubt that Mr. Brown's violent conflict with the Roman Catholic Church contributed to his victory, if it was not the main cause thereof. His party also made large gains through Upper Canada, and had a large majority in that part of the province, so that the majority for the Macdonald government was drawn entirely from Lower Canada. Gross election frauds occurred in Russell county, where names were copied into the poll-books from old directories of towns in the state of New York, and in Quebec city, where such names as Julius Caesar, Napoleon Bonaparte, Judas Iscariot and George Washington appeared on the lists. The Reformers attacked these elections in parliament without success, but in 1859 the sitting member for Russell and several others were tried for conspiracy, convicted and sentenced to imprisonment. That the government felt itself to be much weakened throughout the country is evident from Mr. John A. Macdonald's unsuccessful effort to add another to his list of political combinations by detaching Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald from the Reform party, offering seats in the cabinet to him and another Reformer. The personal attack on Mr. Brown in the session of 1858 has already been mentioned. The chief political event of the session was the "Double Shuffle."

On July 28th, 1858, Mr. Brown succeeded in placing the ministry in a minority on the question of the seat of government. Unable to decide between the conflicting claims of Toronto, Quebec, Montreal and Kingston, the government referred the question to the queen, who decided in favour of Ottawa. Brown had opposed the reference to the queen, holding that the question should be settled in Canada. He also believed that the seat of government should not be fixed until representation by population was granted, and all matters in dispute between Upper and Lower Canada arranged. He now moved against Ottawa and carried his motion. During the same sitting the government was sustained on a motion to adjourn, which by understanding was regarded as a test of confidence. A few hours later the ministers met and decided that, although they had been sustained by a majority of the House, "it behoved them as the queen's servants to resent the slight which had been offered Her Majesty by the action of the assembly in calling in question Her Majesty's choice of the capital." The governor-general, Sir Edmund Walker Head, sent for Mr. Brown as the leader of the Opposition, to form a government. It was contended by Liberals that he ought not to have taken this step unless he intended to give Mr. Brown and his colleagues his full confidence and support. If he believed that the defeat of the government was a mere accident, and that on general grounds it commanded a working majority in the legislature, he ought not to have accepted the resignation, unless he intended to sanction a fresh appeal to the country.

The invitation to form an administration was received by Mr. Brown on Thursday, July 28th. He at once waited on the governor-general and obtained permission to consult his friends. He called a meeting of the Upper Canadian members of his party in both Houses, and obtained from them promises of cordial support. With Dorion he had an important interview. Dorion agreed that the principle of representation by population was sound, but said that the French-Canadian people feared the consequences of Upper Canadian preponderance, feared that the peculiar institutions of French Canada would be swept away. To assure them, representation by population must be accompanied by constitutional checks and safeguards. Brown and Dorion parted in the belief that this could be arranged. They believed also that they could agree upon an educational policy in which religious instruction could be given without the evils of separation.

Though Mr. Brown's power did not lie in the manipulation of combinations of men, he succeeded on this occasion in enlisting the services of colleagues of high character and capacity, including besides Dorion, Oliver Mowat, John Sandfield Macdonald, Luther Holton and L. T. Drummond. On Saturday morning Mr. Brown waited upon the governor-general, and informed him that having consulted his friends and obtained the aid of Mr. Dorion, he was prepared to undertake the task of forming an administration. During the day the formation of the ministry was completed. "At nine o'clock on Sunday night," to give the story in Mr. Brown's words, "learning that Mr. Dorion was ill, I went to see him at his apartments at the Rossin House, and while with him the governor-general's secretary entered and handed me a despatch. No sooner did I see the outside of the document than I understood it all. I felt at once that the whole corruptionist camp had been in commotion at the prospect of the whole of the public departments being subjected to the investigations of a second public accounts' committee, and comprehended at once that the transmission of such a despatch could have but the one intention of raising an obstacle in the way of the new cabinet taking office, and I was not mistaken."[1]

The despatch declared that the governor-general gave no pledge, express or implied, with reference to dissolution. When advice was tendered on the subject he would act as he deemed best. It then laid down, with much detail, the terms on which he would consent to prorogation. Bills for the registration of voters and for the prohibition of fraudulent assignments and gifts by leaders should be enacted, and certain supplies obtained.

Mr. Brown criticized both these declarations. It was not necessary for the governor-general to say that he gave no pledge in regard to dissolution. To demand such a pledge would have been utterly unconstitutional. The governor was quite right in saying that he would deal with the proposal when it was made by his advisers. But while he needlessly and gratuitously declared that he would not pledge himself beforehand as to dissolution, he took exactly the opposite course as to prorogation, specifying almost minutely the terms on which he would consent to that step. Brown contended that the governor had no right to lay down conditions, or to settle beforehand the measures that must be enacted during the session. This was an attempt to dictate, not only to the ministry, but to the legislature. Mr. Brown and his colleagues believed that the governor was acting in collusion with the ministers who had resigned, that the intriguers were taken by surprise when Brown showed himself able to form a ministry, and that the Sunday communication was a second thought, a hurriedly devised plan to bar the way of the new ministers to office.

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[1] Speech to Toronto electors, August, 1858.

On Monday morning before conferring with his colleagues, Brown wrote to the governor-general, stating that his ministry had been formed, and submitting that "until they have assumed the functions of constitutional advisers of the Crown, he and his proposed colleagues will not be in a position to discuss the important measures and questions of public policy referred to in his memorandum." Brown then met his colleagues, who unanimously approved of his answer to the governor's memorandum, and agreed also that it was intended as a bar to their acceptance of office. They decided not to ask for a pledge as to dissolution, nor to make or accept conditions of any kind. "We were willing to risk our being turned out of office within twenty-four hours, but we were not willing to place ourselves constitutionally in a false position. We distinctly contemplated all that Sir Edmund Head could do and that he has done, and we concluded that it was our duty to accept office, and throw on the governor-general the responsibility of denying us the support we were entitled to, and which he had extended so abundantly to our predecessor."

When parliament assembled on Monday, a vote of want of confidence was carried against the new government in both Houses. The newly appointed members had vacated their seats in parliament and were offering themselves for re-election. It is true the majority was too great to be accounted for by the absence of the ministers. But the result was affected by the lack, not only of the votes of the ministers, but of their voices. In the absence of ministerial explanation, confusion and misunderstanding prevailed. The fact that Brown had been able to find common ground with Catholic and French-Canadian members had occasioned surprise and anxiety. On the one side it was feared that Brown had surrendered to the French-Canadians, and on the other that the French-Canadians had surrendered to Brown.

The conference between Brown and Dorion shows that the government was formed for the same purpose as the Brown-Macdonald coalition of 1864—the settlement of difficulties that prevented the right working of the union. The official declaration of its policy contains these words: "His Excellency's present advisers have entered the government with the fixed determination to propose constitutional measures for the establishment of that harmony between Upper and Lower Canada which is essential to the prosperity of the province."

Dissolution was asked on the ground that the new government intended to propose important constitutional changes, and that the parliament did not represent the country, many of its members owing their seats to gross fraud and corruption. Thirty-two seats were claimed from sitting members on these grounds. The cases of the Quebec and Russell election have already been mentioned. The member elected for Lotbinière was expelled for violent interference with the freedom of election. Brown and his colleagues contended that these practices had prevailed to such an extent that the legislature could not be said to represent the country. Head's reply was that the frauds were likely to be repeated if a new election were held; that they really afforded a reason for postponing the election, at least until more stringent laws were enacted. The dissolution was refused; the Brown-Dorion government resigned, and the old ministers were restored to office.

On the resignation of the Brown-Dorion ministry the governor called upon A. T. Galt, who had given an independent support to the Macdonald-Cartier government. During the session of 1858 he had placed before the House resolutions favouring the federal union of Canada, the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory, and it is possible that his advocacy of this policy had something to do with the offer of the premiership. As yet, however, he was not prominent enough, nor could he command a support large enough, to warrant his acceptance of the office, and he declined. Then followed the "Double Shuffle."

SIR ALEXANDER TILLOCH GALT

From a photograph by Topley, Ottawa.

The Macdonald-Cartier government resumed office under the name of the Cartier-Macdonald government, with Galt taking the place of Cayley, and some minor changes. Constitutional usage required that all the ministers should have returned to their constituents for re-election. A means of evading this requirement was found. The statute governing the case provided that when any minister should resign his office and within one month afterwards accept another office in the ministry, he should not thereby vacate his seat. With the object of obviating the necessity for a new election, Cartier, Macdonald, and their colleagues, in order to bring themselves within the letter of the law, although not within its spirit, exchanged offices, each taking a different one from that which he had resigned eight days before. Shortly before midnight of the sixth of August, they solemnly swore to discharge the duties of offices which several of them had no intention of holding; and a few minutes afterwards the second shuffle took place, and Cartier and Macdonald having been inspector-general and postmaster-general for this brief space, became again attorney-general east and attorney-general west.

The belief of the Reformers that the governor-general was guilty of partiality and of intrigue with the Conservative ministers is set forth as part of the history of the time. There is evidence of partiality, but no evidence of intrigue. The biographer of Sir John Macdonald denies the charge of intrigue, but says that Macdonald and the governor were intimate personal friends.[1] Dent, who also scouts the charge of intrigue, says that the governor was prejudiced against Brown, regarding him as a mere obstructionist.[2] The governor-general seems to have been influenced by these personal feelings, making everything as difficult as possible for Brown, and as easy as possible for Macdonald, even to the point of acquiescing in the evasion of the law known as the "Double Shuffle."

In the debate on confederation, Senator Ferrier said that a political warfare had been waged in Canada for many years, of a nature calculated to destroy all moral and political principles, both in the legislature and out of it. The "Double Shuffle" is so typical of this dreary and ignoble warfare and it played so large a part in the political history of the time, that it has been necessary to describe it at some length. But for these considerations, the episode would have deserved scant notice. The headship of one of the ephemeral ministries that preceded confederation could add little to the reputation of Mr. Brown. His powers were not shown at their best in office, and the surroundings of office were not congenial to him. His strength lay in addressing the people directly, through his paper or on the platform, and in the hour of defeat or disappointment he turned to the people for consolation. "During these contests," he said some years afterwards, "it was this which sustained the gallant band of Reformers who so long struggled for popular rights: that, abused as we might be, we had this consolation, that we could not go anywhere among our fellow-countrymen from one end of the country to the other—in Tory constituencies as well as in Reform constituencies—without the certainty of receiving from the honest, intelligent yeomanry of the country—from the true, right-hearted, right-thinking people of Upper Canada, who came out to meet us—the hearty grasp of the hand and the hearty greeting that amply rewarded the labour we had expended in their behalf. That is the highest reward I have hoped for in public life, and I am sure that no man who earns that reward will ever in Upper Canada have better occasion to speak of the gratitude of the people."

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[1] Pope's *Memoirs of Sir John Macdonald*, Vol. I., pp. 133, 134.

[2] Dent's *Last Forty Years*, Vol. II., pp. 379, 380.

CHAPTER XI

AGAINST AMERICAN SLAVERY

IN his home in Scotland Brown had been imbued with a hatred of slavery. He spent several years of his early manhood in New York, and felt in all its force the domination of the slave-holding element. Thence he moved to Canada, for many years the refuge of the hunted slave. It is estimated that even before the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, there were twenty thousand coloured refugees in Canada. It was customary for these poor creatures to hide by day and to travel by night. When all other signs failed they kept their eyes fixed on the North Star, whose light "seemed the enduring witness of the divine interest in their deliverance." By the system known as the "underground railway," the fugitive was passed from one friendly house to another. A code of signals was used by those engaged in the work of mercy—pass words, peculiar knocks and raps, a call like that of the owl. Negroes in transit were described as "fleeces of wool," and "volumes of the irrepressible conflict bound in black."

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Law deprived the negro of his security in the free states, and dragged back into slavery men and women who had for years been living in freedom, and had found means to earn their bread and to build up little homes. Hence an impetus was given to the movement towards Canada, which the slave-holders tried to check by talking freely of the rigours of the Canadian climate. Lewis Clark, the original of George Harris in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was told that if he went to Canada the British would put his eyes out, and keep him in a mine for life. Another was told that the Detroit River was three thousand miles wide.

But the exodus to Canada went on, and the hearts of the people were moved to compassion by the arrival of ragged and foot-sore wanderers. They found a warm friend in Brown, who paid the hotel bill of one for a week, gave fifty dollars to maintain a negro family, and besides numerous acts of personal kindness, filled the columns of the *Globe* with appeals on behalf of the fugitives. Early in 1851 the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada was organized. The president was the Rev. Dr. Willis, afterwards principal of Knox Presbyterian College, and the names of Peter Brown, George Brown, and Oliver Mowat are found on the committee. The object of the society was "the extinction of slavery all over the world by means exclusively lawful and peaceable, moral and religious, such as the diffusion of useful information and argument by tracts, newspapers, lectures, and correspondence, and by manifesting sympathy with the houseless and homeless victims of slavery flying to our soil." Concerts were given, and the proceeds applied in aid of the refugees.

Brown was also strongly interested in the settlements of refugees established throughout Western Canada. Under an act of the Canadian parliament "for the settlement and moral improvement of the coloured population of Canada," large tracts of land were acquired, divided into fifty acre lots, and sold to refugees at low prices, payable in instalments. Sunday schools and day schools were established. The moving spirit in one of these settlements was the Rev. William King, a Presbyterian, formerly of Louisiana, who had freed his own slaves and brought them to Canada. Traces of these settlements still exist. Either in this way or otherwise, there were large numbers of coloured people living in the valley of the Thames (from Chatham to London), in St. Catharines, Hamilton, and Toronto.

At the annual meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society in 1852, Mr. Brown moved a resolution expressing gratitude to those American clergymen who had exposed the atrocities of the Fugitive Slave Law. He showed how, before its enactment, slaves were continually escaping to the Northern States, where they were virtually out of reach of their masters. There was a law enabling the latter to recover their property, but its edge was dulled by public opinion in the North, which was rapidly growing antagonistic to allowing the free states to become a hunting-ground for slave-catchers. The South took alarm at the growth of this feeling, and procured the passage of a more stringent law. This law enabled the slave-holder to seize the slave wherever he found him, without warrant, and it forbade the freeman to shelter the refugee under penalty of six months' imprisonment, a fine of one thousand dollars, and liability to a civil suit for damages to the same amount. The enforcement of the law was given to federal instead of to State officials. After giving several illustrations of the working of the law, Mr. Brown proceeded to discuss the duty of Canada in regard to slavery. It was a question of humanity, of Christianity, and of liberty, in which all men were interested. Canada could not escape the contamination of a system existing so near her borders. "We, too, are Americans; on us, as well as on them, lies the duty of preserving the honour of the continent. On us, as on them, rests the noble trust of shielding free institutions."

Having long borne the blame of permitting slavery, the people of the North naturally expected that when the great struggle came they would receive the moral support of the civilized world in its effort to check and finally to crush out the evil. They were shocked and disappointed when this support was not freely and generously given, and when sympathy with the South showed itself strongly in Great Britain. Brown dealt with this question in a speech delivered in Toronto shortly after Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation. He had just returned from Great Britain, and he said that in his six months' journey through England and Scotland, he had conversed with persons in all conditions of life, and he was sorry to say that general sympathy was with the South. This did not proceed from any change in the feeling towards slavery. Hatred of slavery was as strong as ever, but it was not believed that African slavery was the real cause of the war, or that Mr. Lincoln sincerely desired to bring the traffic to an end. This misunderstanding he attributed to persistent misrepresentation. There were men who rightly understood the merits of the contest, and among these he placed the members of the British ministry. The course of the ministry he described as one of scrupulous neutrality, and firm resistance to the invitations of other powers to interfere in the contest.

Brown himself never for a moment failed to understand the nature of the struggle, and he showed an insight, remarkable at that time, into the policy of Lincoln. The anti-slavery men of Canada, he said, had an important duty to discharge. " We, who have stood here on the borders of the republic for a quarter of a century, protesting against slavery as the sum of all human villainies—we, who have closely watched every turn of the question—we, who have for years acted and sympathized with the good men of the republic in their efforts for the freedom of their country—we, who have a practical knowledge of the atrocities of the 'peculiar institution,' learned from the lips of the panting refugee upon our shores—we, who have in our ranks men all known on the other side of the Atlantic as life-long abolitionists—we, I say, are in a position to speak with confidence to the anti-slavery men of Great Britain—to tell them that they have not rightly understood this matter—to tell them that slavery is the one great cause of the American rebellion, and that the success of the North is the death-knell of slavery. Strange, after all that has passed, that a doubt of this should remain."

It was true, he said, that Lincoln was not elected as an abolitionist. Lincoln declared, and the Republican party declared, that they stood by the constitution; that they would, so far as the constitution allowed, restrict slavery and prevent its extension to new territory. Yet they knew that the constitution gave them all they desired. "Well did they know, and well did the Southerners know, that any anti-slavery president and congress, by their direct power of legislation, by their control of the public patronage, and by the application of the public moneys, could not only restrict slavery within its present boundaries, but could secure its ultimate abolition. The South perfectly comprehended that Mr. Lincoln, if elected, might keep within the letter of the constitution and yet sap the foundation of the whole slave system. and they acted accordingly."

In answering the question, "Why did not the North let the slave states go in peace?" Brown freely admitted the right of revolution. "The world no longer believes in the divine right of either kings or presidents to govern wrong; but those who seek to change an established government by force of arms assume a fearful responsibility—a responsibility which nothing but the clearest and most intolerable injustice will acquit them for assuming." Here was a rebellion, not to resist injustice but to perpetuate injustice; not to deliver the oppressed from bondage, but to fasten more hopelessly than ever the chains of slavery on four millions of human beings. Why not let the slave states go? Because it would have been wrong, because it would have built up a great slave power that no moral influence could reach, a power that would have overawed the free Northern States, added to its territory, and re-established the slave trade. Had Lincoln permitted the slave states to go, and to form such a power, he would have brought enduring contempt upon his name, and the people of England would have been the first to reproach him.

Brown argued, as he had done in 1852, that Canada could not be indifferent to the question, whether the dominant power of the North American continent should be slave or free. Holding that liberty had better securities under the British than under the American system, he yet believed that the failure of the American experiment would be a calamity and a blow to free institutions all over the world. For years the United States had been the refuge of the oppressed in every land; millions had fled from poverty in Europe to find happiness and prosperity there. From these had been wafted back to Europe new ideas of the rights of the people. With the fall of the United States this impetus to freedom, world-wide in its influence, would cease. Demands for popular rights and free constitutions would be met by the despotic rulers of Europe with the taunt that in the United States free constitutions and popular rights had ended in disruption and anarchy. "Let us not forget that there have been, and still are, very different monarchies in the world from that of our own beloved queen; and assuredly there are not so many free governments on earth that we should hesitate to desire earnestly the success of that one nearest to our own, modelled from our own, and founded by men of our own race. I do most heartily rejoice, for the cause of liberty, that Mr. Lincoln did not patiently acquiesce in the dismemberment of the republic."

The Civil War in the United States raised the most important question of foreign policy with which the public men of Canada were called upon to deal in Brown's career. The dismemberment of the British empire would hardly have exercised a more profound influence on the human race and on world-wide aspirations for freedom, than the dismemberment of the United States and the establishment on this continent of a mighty slave empire. Canada could not be indifferent to the issue. How long would the slave-holding power, which coerced the North into consenting to the Fugitive Slave Law, have tolerated the existence of a free refuge for slaves across the lakes? Either Canada would have been forced to submit to the humiliation of joining in the hunt for men, or the British empire would have been obliged to fight the battle that the North fought under the leadership of Lincoln. In the face of this danger confronting Canada and the empire and freedom, it was a time to forget smaller international animosities. Brown was one of the few Canadian statesmen who saw the situation clearly and rose to the occasion. For twenty years by his public speeches, and still more through the generous devotion of the *Globe* to the cause, he aided the cause of freedom and of the union of the lovers of freedom.

CHAPTER XII

BROWN AND THE ROMAN CATHOLICS

THAT the *Globe* and Mr. Brown, as related in a previous chapter, became associated with Lord John Russell's bill and the "no popery" agitation in England, may be regarded as a mere accident. The excitement would have died out here as it died out in England, if there had not been in Canada such a mass of inflammable material—so many questions in which the relations of Church and State were involved. One of these was State endowment of denominational schools. During Brown's early years in Canada the school system was being placed on a broad and popular basis. Salaries of teachers were wretchedly low. Fees were charged to children, and remitted only as an act of charity. Mr. Brown advocated a free and unsectarian system. Claims for denominational schools were put forward not only by the Roman Catholics but by the Anglicans. He argued that if this were allowed the public school system would be destroyed by division. The country could barely afford to maintain one good school system. To maintain a system for each denomination would require an immense addition to the number of school-houses and teachers, and would absorb the whole revenue of the province. At the same time, the educational forces would be weakened by the division and thousands of children would grow up without education. "Under the non-sectarian system," said Brown, "the day is at hand when we may hope to abolish the school-tax and offer free education to every child in the province."

Eventually it was found possible to carry out Mr. Brown's idea of free education for every child in the province, and yet to allow Roman Catholic separate schools to be maintained. To this compromise Mr. Brown became reconciled, because it did not involve, as he had feared, the destruction of the free school system by division. The Roman Catholics of Upper Canada were allowed to maintain separate denominational schools, to have them supported by the taxes of Roman Catholic ratepayers and by provincial grants. So far as the education of Protestant children was concerned Mr. Brown's advocacy was successful. He opposed denominational schools because he feared they would weaken or destroy the general system of free education for all. Under the agreement which was finally arrived at, this fear was not realized. In his speech on confederation he admitted that the sectarian system, carried to a limited extent and confined chiefly to cities and towns, had not been a very great practical injury. The real cause of alarm was that the admission of the sectarian principle was there, and that at any moment it might be extended to such a degree as to split up our school system altogether: "that the separate system might gradually extend itself until the whole country was studded with nurseries of sectarianism, most hurtful to the best interests of the province and entailing an enormous expense to sustain the hosts of teachers that so prodigal a system of public instruction must inevitably entail."

This, however, was not the only question at issue between Mr. Brown and the Roman Catholic Church. It happened, as has been said above, that on his first entry into parliament, the place of meeting was the city of Quebec. The Edinburgh-bred man found himself in a Roman Catholic city, surrounded by every evidence of the power of the Church. As he looked up from the floor of the House to the galleries he saw a Catholic audience, its character emphasized by the appearance of priests clad in the distinctive garments of their orders. It was his duty to oppose a great mass of legislation intended to strengthen that Church and to add to its privileges. His spirit rose and he grew more dour and resolute as he realized the strength of the forces opposed to him.

It would be doing an injustice to the memory of Mr. Brown to gloss over or minimize a most important feature of his career, or to offer apologies which he himself would have despised. The battle was not fought with swords of lath, and whoever wants to read of an old-fashioned "no popery" fight, carried on with abounding fire and vigour, will find plenty of matter in the files of the *Globe* of the fifties. His success in the election of 1857, so far as Upper Canada was concerned, and especially his accomplishment of the rare feat of carrying a Toronto seat for the Reform party, was largely due to an agitation that aroused all the forces and many of the prejudices of Protestantism. Yet Brown kept and won many warm friends among Roman Catholics, both in Upper and in Lower Canada. His manliness attracted them. They saw in him, not a narrow-minded and cold-hearted bigot, seeking to force his opinions on others, but a brave and generous man, fighting for principles. And in Lower Canada there were many Roman Catholic laymen whose hearts were with him, and who were themselves entering upon a momentous struggle to free the electorate from clerical control. In his fight for the separation of Church and State, he came into conflict, not with Roman Catholics alone. In his own Presbyterian Church, at the time of the disruption, he strongly upheld the side which was identified with liberty. For several years after his arrival in Canada he was fighting against the special privileges of the Anglican Church. He often said that he was actuated, not by prejudice against one Church, but by hatred of clerical privilege, and love of religious liberty and equality.

In 1871 Mr. Brown, in a letter addressed to prominent Roman Catholics, gave a straight-forward account of his relations with the Roman Catholic Church. It is repeated here in a somewhat abbreviated form, but as nearly as possible in his own words. In the early days of the political history of Upper Canada, the great mass of Catholics were staunch Reformers. They suffered from Downing Street rule, from the domination of the "family compact," from the clergy reserves and from other attempts to arm the Anglican Church with special privileges and powers; they gave an intelligent and cordial support to liberal and progressive measures. They contributed to the victory of Baldwin and Lafontaine. But when that victory was achieved, the Upper Canadian Reformers found that a cause was operating to deprive them of its fruits,—"the French-Canadian members of the cabinet and their supporters in parliament, blocked the way." They not only prevented or delayed the measures which the Reformers desired, but they forced through parliament measures which antagonized Reform sentiment. "Although much less numerous than the people of Upper Canada, and contributing to the common purse hardly a fourth of the annual revenue of the United Provinces, the Lower Canadians sent an equal number of representatives with the Upper Canadians to parliament, and, by their unity of action, obtained complete dominancy in the management of public affairs." Unjust and injurious taxation, waste and extravagance, and great increases in the public debt followed. Seeking a remedy, the Upper Canadian Reformers demanded, first, representation by population, giving Upper

Canada its just influence in the legislature, and second, the entire separation of Church and State, placing all denominations on a like footing and leaving each to support its own religious establishments from the funds of its own people. They believed that these measures would remove from the public arena causes of strife and heartburning, and would bring about solid prosperity and internal peace. The battle was fought vigorously. "The most determined efforts were put forth for the final but just settlement of all those vexed questions by which religious sects were arrayed against each other. Clergymen were dragged as combatants into the political arena, religion was brought into contempt, and opportunity presented to our French-Canadian friends to rule us through our own dissensions." Clergy reserves, sectarian schools, the use of the public funds for sectarian purposes, were assailed. "On these and many similar questions, we were met by the French-Canadian phalanx in hostile array; our whole policy was denounced in language of the strongest character, and the men who upheld it were assailed as the basest of mankind. We, on our part, were not slow in returning blow for blow, and feelings were excited among the Catholics from Upper Canada that estranged the great bulk of them from our ranks." The agitation was carried on, however, until the grievances of which the Reformers complained were removed by the Act of Confederation. Under that Act the people of Ontario enjoy representation according to population; they have entire control over their own local affairs; and the last remnant of the sectarian warfare—the separate school question—was settled forever by a compromise that was accepted as final by all parties concerned.

In this letter Mr. Brown said that he was not seeking to cloak over past feuds or apologize for past occurrences. He gloried in the justice and soundness of the principles and measures for which he and his party had contended, and he was proud of the results of the conflict. He asked Catholics to read calmly the page of history he had unfolded. "Let them blaze away at George Brown afterwards as vigorously as they please, but let not their old feuds with him close their eyes to the interests of their country, and their own interests as a powerful section of the body politic."

The censure applied to those who wantonly draw sectarian questions into politics, and set Catholic against Protestant, is just. But it does not attach to those who attack the privileges of any Church, and who, when the Church steps into the political arena, strike at it with political weapons. This was Brown's position. He was the sworn foe of clericalism. He had no affinity with the demagogues and professional agitators who make a business of attacking the Roman Catholic Church, nor with those whose souls are filled with vague alarms of papal supremacy, and who believe stories of Catholics drilling in churches to fight their Protestant neighbours. He fought against real tyranny, for the removal of real grievances. When he believed that he had found in confederation the real remedy, he was satisfied, and he did not keep up an agitation merely for agitation's sake. It is not necessary to attempt to justify every word that may have been struck off in the heat of a great conflict. There was a battle to be fought; he fought with all the energy of his nature, and with the weapons that lay at hand. He would have shared Hotspur's contempt for the fop who vowed that "but for these vile guns he would himself have been a soldier."

CHAPTER XIII

MOVING TOWARDS CONFEDERATION

TO whom is due the confederation of the British North American provinces is a long vexed question. The Hon. D'Arcy McGee, in his speech on confederation, gave credit to Mr. Uniacke, a leading politician of Nova Scotia, who in 1800 submitted a scheme of colonial union to the imperial authorities; to Chief-Justice Sewell, to Sir John Beverley Robinson, to Lord Durham, to Mr. P. S. Hamilton, a Nova Scotia writer, and to Mr. Alexander Morris, then member for South Lanark, who had advocated the project in a pamphlet entitled *Nova Britannia.* "But," he added, "whatever the private writer in his closet may have conceived, whatever even the individual statesman may have designed, so long as the public mind was uninterested in the adoption, even in the discussion of a change in our position so momentous as this, the union of these separate provinces, the individual laboured in vain—perhaps, not wholly in vain, for although his work may not have borne fruit then, it was kindling a fire that would ultimately light up the whole political horizon and herald the dawn of a better day for our country and our people. Events stronger than advocacy, events stronger than men, have come in at last like the fire behind the invisible writing, to bring out the truth of these writings and to impress them upon the mind of every thoughtful man who has considered the position and probable future of these scattered provinces." Following Mr. McGee's suggestion, let us try to deal with the question from the time that it ceased to be speculative and became practical, and especially to trace its development in the mind of one man.

In the later fifties Mr. Brown was pursuing a course which led almost with certainty to the goal of confederation. The people of Upper Canada were steadily coming over to his belief that they were suffering injustice under the union; that they paid more than their share of the taxes, and yet that Lower Canadian influence was dominant in legislation and in the formation of ministries. Brown's tremendous agitation convinced them that the situation was intolerable. But it was long before the true remedy was perceived. The French-Canadians would not agree to Brown's remedy of representation by population. Brown opposed as reactionary the proposal that the union should be dissolved. He desired not to go back to the day of small things—on the contrary, even at this early day, he was advocating the union of the western territories with Canada. Nor was he at first in favour of the federal principle. In 1853, in a formal statement of its programme, the *Globe* advocated uniform legislation for the two provinces, and a Reform convention held at Toronto in 1857 recommended the same measure, together with representation by population and the addition of the North-West Territories to Canada.

In January, 1858, Brown wrote to his friend, Luther Holton, in a manner which showed an open mind: " No honest man can desire that we should remain as we are, and what other way out of our difficulties can be suggested but a general legislative union, with representation by population, a federal union, or a dissolution of the present union. I am sure that a dissolution cry would be as ruinous to any party as (in my opinion) it would be wrong. A federal union, it appears to me, cannot be entertained for Canada alone, but when agitated must include all British America. We will be past caring for politics when that measure is finally achieved. What powers should be given to the provincial legislatures, and what to the federal? Would you abolish county councils? And yet, if you did not, what would the local parliaments have to control? Would Montreal like to be put under the generous rule of the Quebec politicians? Our friends here are prepared to consider dispassionately any scheme that may issue from your party in Lower Canada. They all feel keenly that something must be done. Their plan is representation by population, and a fair trial for the present union in its integrity; failing this, they are prepared to go for dissolution, I believe, but if you can suggest a federal or any other scheme that could be worked, it will have our most anxious examination. Can you sketch a plan of federation such as our friends below would agree to and could carry ?"

Probably Dorion and other Lower Canadians had a part in converting Brown to federation. In 1856 Dorion had moved a resolution favouring the confederation of the two Canadas. In August, 1858. Brown and Dorion undertook to form a government pledged to the settlement of the question that had arisen between Upper and Lower Canada. Dorion says it was agreed by the Brown-Dorion government "that the constitutional question should be taken up and settled, either by a confederation of the two provinces, or by representation according to population, with such checks and guarantees as would secure the religious faith, the laws, the language, and the peculiar institutions of each section of the country from encroachments on the part of the other."

At the same time an effort in the same direction was made by the Conservative party. A. T. Galt, in the session of 1858, advocated the federal union of all the British North American provinces. He declared that unless a union were effected, the provinces would inevitably drift into the United States. He proposed that questions relating to education and likely to arouse religious dissension, ought to be left to the provinces. The resolutions moved by

Mr. Galt in 1858 give him a high place among the promoters of confederation. Galt was asked by Sir Edmund Head to form an administration on the resignation of the Brown government. Galt refused, but when he subsequently entered the Cartier government it was on condition that the promotion of federal union should be embodied in the policy of the government. Cartier, Ross and Galt visited England in fulfilment of this promise, and described the serious difficulties that had arisen in Canada. The movement failed because the co-operation of the Maritime Provinces could not be obtained.

In the autumn of 1859 two important steps leading towards federation were taken. In October the Lower Canadian members of the Opposition met in Montreal and declared for a federal union of the Canadas. They went so far as to specify the subjects of federal and local jurisdiction, allowing to the central authority the customs tariff, the post-office, patents and copyrights, and the currency ; and to the local legislatures education, the laws of property, the administration of justice, and the control of the militia. In September a meeting of the Liberal members of both Houses was held at Toronto, and a circular calling a convention of Upper Canadian Reformers was issued. It declared that " the financial and political evils of the provinces have reached such a point as to demand a thorough reconsideration of the relations between Upper and Lower Canada, and the adoption of constitutional changes framed to remedy the great abuses that have arisen under the present system"; that the nature of the changes had been discussed, but that it was felt that before coming to a conclusion "the whole Liberal party throughout Upper Canada should be consulted." The discussion would be free and unfettered. "Supporters of the Opposition advocating a written constitution or a dissolution of the union—or a federal union of all the British North American provinces—or a federal system for Canada alone—or any other plan calculated, in their opinion, to meet the existing evils—are all equally welcome to the convention. The one sole object is to discuss the whole subject with candour and without prejudice, that the best remedy may be found." Then came an account of the grievances for which a remedy was sought: "The position of Upper Canada at this moment is truly anomalous and alarming. With a population much more numerous than that of Lower Canada, and contributing to the general revenue a much larger share of taxation than the sister province, Upper Canada finds herself without power in the administration of the affairs of the union. With a constitution professedly based on the principle that the will of the majority should prevail, a minority of the people of Upper Canada, by combination with the Lower Canada majority, are enabled to rule the upper province in direct hostility to the popular will. Extravagant expenditures and hurtful legislative measures are forced on us in defiance of the protests of large majorities of the representatives of the people ; the most needful reforms are denied, and offices of honour and emolument are conferred on persons destitute of popular sympathy, and without qualification beyond that of unhesitating subserviency to the men who misgovern the country."

The convention of nearly six hundred delegates gave evidence of a genuine, popular movement for constitutional changes. Though it was composed of members of only one party, its discussions were of general interest, and were upon a high level of intelligence and public spirit. The convention was divided between dissolution and federal union. Federation first got the ear of the meeting. Free access to the sea by the St. Lawrence, free trade between Upper and Lower Canada, were urged as reasons for continuing the union. Oliver Mowat made a closely reasoned speech on the same side. Representation by population alone would not be accepted by Lower Canada. Dissolution was impracticable and could not, at best, be obtained without long agitation. Federation would give all the advantages of dissolution without its difficulties.

Mowat's speech was received with much favour, and the current had set strongly for federation when George Sheppard arose as the chief advocate of dissolution. Sheppard had been an editorial writer on the *Colonist*, had been attracted by Brown and his policy and had joined the staff of the *Globe*. His main argument was that the central government under federation would be a costly and elaborate affair, and would ultimately overshadow the governments of the provinces. There would be a central parliament, a viceroy with all the expense of a court. "A federal government without federal dignity would be all moonshine." There was an inherent tendency in central bodies to acquire increased power. In the United States a federal party had advocated a strong central government, and excuses were always being sought to add to its glory and influence. On the other side was a democratic party, championing State rights. "In Canada, too, we may expect to see federation followed by the rise of two parties, one fighting for a strong central government, the other, like Mr. Brown, contending for State rights, local control, and the limited authority of the central power." One of the arguments for federation was that it provided for bringing in the North-West Territory. That implied an expensive federal government for the purpose of organizing the new territory, building its roads, etc. "Is this federation," he asked, "proposed as a step towards nationality? If so, I am with you. Federation implies nationality. For colonial purposes only it would be a needless incumbrance."

This speech, with its accurate forecast of the growth of the central power, produced such an impression that the federalists amended their resolution, and proposed, instead of a general government, "some joint authority" for federal purposes. This concession was made by William Macdougall, one of the secretaries and chief figures of the convention, who said that he had been much impressed by Sheppard's eloquence and logic. The creation of a powerful, elaborate and expensive central government such as now exists did not form part of the plans of the Liberals either in Upper or Lower Canada at that time.

Brown, who spoke towards the close of the convention, declared that he had no morbid fear of dissolution of the union, but preferred the plan of federation, as giving Upper Canada the advantage of free trade with Lower Canada and the free navigation of the St. Lawrence. One of his most forcible passages was an answer to Sheppard's question whether the federation was a step towards nationality. "I do place the question on grounds of nationality. I do hope there is not one Canadian in this assembly who does not look forward with high hope to the day when these northern countries shall stand out among the nations of the world as one great confederation. What true Canadian can witness the tide of emigration now commencing to flow into the vast territories of the North-West without longing to have a share in the first settlement of that great, fertile country? Who does not feel that to us rightfully belong the right and the duty of carrying the blessings of civilization throughout those boundless regions, and making our own country the highway of traffic to the Pacific? But is it necessary that all this should be accomplished at once? Is it not true wisdom to commence federation with our own country, and leave it open to extension hereafter if time and experience shall prove it desirable? And shall we not then have better control over the terms of federation than if all were made parties to the original compact, and how can there be the slightest question with one who longs for such a nationality between dissolution and the scheme of the day? Is it not clear that the former would be the death blow to the hope of future union, while the latter will readily furnish the machinery for a great federation?"

The resolutions adopted by the convention declared that the legislative union, because of antagonisms developed through differences of origin, local interests, and other causes, could no longer be maintained; that the plan known as the "double majority" did not afford a permanent remedy; that a federal union of all the British North American colonies was out of the range of remedies for present evils; that the principle of representation by population must be recognized in any new union, and that "the best practical remedy for the evils now encountered in the government of Canada is to be found in the formation of two or more local governments, to which shall be committed the control of all matters of a local or sectional character, and some joint authority charged with such matters as are necessarily common to both sections of the province."

The hopes that had been aroused by this convention were disappointed, or rather deferred. When Brown, in the following session of the legislature, brought forward resolutions in the sense of those adopted by the convention, he found coldness and dissension in his own party, and the resolutions were defeated by a large majority. Subsequently Mr. Brown had a long illness, retired from the leadership, and spent some time in England and Scotland. In his absence the movement for constitutional change was stayed. But "events stronger than advocacy," in Mr. McGee's words, were operating. Power oscillated between the Conservative and Reform parties, and two general elections, held within as many years, failed to solve the difficulty. When federation was next proposed, it had become a political necessity.

CHAPTER XIV

LAST YEARS OF THE UNION

IN 1860, Mr. Brown contemplated retiring from the leadership of the party. In a letter to Mr. Mowat, he said that the enemies of reform were playing the game of exciting personal hostility against himself, and reviving feelings inspired by the fierce contests of the past. It might be well to appoint a leader who would arouse less personal hostility. A few months later he had a long and severe illness, which prevented him from taking his place in the legislature during the session of 1861 and from displaying his usual activity in the general election of the summer of that year. He did, however, accept the hard task of contesting East Toronto, where he was defeated by Mr. John Crawford by a majority of one hundred and ninety-one. Mr. Brown then announced that the defeat had opened up the way for his retirement without dishonour, and that he would not seek re-election. Some public advantages, he said, might flow from that decision. Those whose interest it was that misgovernment should continue, would no longer be able to make a scapegoat of George Brown. Admitting that he had used strong language in denouncing French domination, he justified his course as the only remedy for the evil. In 1852 he could hardly find a seconder for his motion in favour of representation by population; in the election just closed, he claimed fifty-three members from Upper Canada, elected to stand or fall by that measure. He had fought a ten years' battle without faltering. He advocated opposition to any ministry of either party that would refuse to settle the question.

The Conservative government was defeated, in the session following the election, on a militia bill providing for the maintenance of a force of fifty thousand men at a cost of about one million dollars. The American Civil War was in progress; the *Trent* affair had assumed a threatening appearance and it was deemed necessary to place the province in a state of defence. The bill was defeated by the defection of some French-Canadian supporters of the government. The event caused much disappointment in England; and from this time forth, continual pressure from that quarter in regard to defence was one of the forces tending towards confederation.

John Sandfield Macdonald, who was somewhat unexpectedly called upon to form a ministry, was an enthusiastic advocate of the "double majority," by which he believed the union could be virtually federalized without formal constitutional change. Upper Canadian ministers were to transact Upper Canadian business, and so with Lower Canada, the administration, as a whole, managing affairs of common interest. Local legislation was not to be forced on either province against the wish of the representatives. The administration for each section should possess the confidence of a majority of representatives from that section.

Brown strongly opposed the "double majority" plan, which he regarded as a mere makeshift for reform in the representation, and he was in some doubt whether he should support or oppose the Liberal ministers who offered for re-election. He finally decided, after consultation with his brother Gordon, "to permit them to go in unopposed, and hold them up to the mark under the stimulus of bit and spur."

In July 1862, Mr. Brown sailed for Great Britain, and in September he wrote Mr. Holton that he had had a most satisfactory interview with the Duke of Newcastle at the latter's request. They seem to have talked freely about Canadian politics. "His scruples about representation are entirely gone. It would have done even Sandfield [Macdonald] good to hear his ideas on the absurdity of the 'double majority.' Whatever small politicians and the London *Times* may say, you may depend upon this, that the government and the leaders of the Opposition perfectly understand our position, and have no thought of changing the relations between Canada and the mother country. On the contrary, the members of the government, with the exception of Gladstone, are set upon the Intercolonial Railway and a grand transit route across the continent." He remarked upon the bitterness of the British feeling against the

United States, and said that he was perplexed by the course of the London *Times* in pandering to the passions of the people.

The most important event of his visit to Scotland was yet to come. On November 27th he married Miss Anne Nelson, daughter of the well-known publisher, Thomas Nelson—a marriage which was the beginning of a most happy domestic life of eighteen years. This lady survived him until May, 1906. On his return to Canada with his bride, Mr. Brown was met at Toronto station by several thousand friends. In reply to a complimentary address, he said, "I have come back with strength invigorated, with new, and I trust, enlarged views, and with the most earnest desire to aid in advancing the prosperity and happiness of Canada."

It has been seen that the Macdonald-Sicotte government had shelved the question of representation by population and had committed itself to the device of the "double majority." During Mr. Brown's absence another movement, which he had strongly resisted, had been gaining ground. In 1860, 1861, and 1862, Mr. R. W. Scott, of Ottawa, had introduced legislation intended to strengthen the Roman Catholic separate school system of Upper Canada. In 1863, he succeeded, by accepting certain modifications, in obtaining the support of Dr. Ryerson, superintendent of education. Another important advantage was that his bill was adopted as a government measure by the Sandfield Macdonald ministry.

The bill became law in spite of the fact that it was opposed by a majority of the representatives from Upper Canada. This was in direct contravention of the "double majority" resolutions adopted by the legislature at the instance of the government. The premier had declared that there should be a truce to the agitation for representation by population or for other constitutional changes. That agitation had been based upon the complaint that legislation was being forced upon Upper Canada by Lower Canadian votes. The "double majority" resolutions had been proposed as a substitute for constitutional change. In the case of the Separate School Bill they were disregarded, and the premier was severely criticized for allowing his favourite principle to be contravened.

Mr. Brown had been absent in the sessions of 1861 and 1862, and he did not enter the House in 1863 until the Separate School Bill had passed its second reading. In the *Globe*, however, it was assailed vigorously, one ground being that the bill was not a finality, but that the Roman Catholic Church would continually make new demands and encroachments, until the public school system was destroyed. On this question of finality there was much controversy. Dr. Ryerson always insisted that there was an express agreement that it was to be final; on the Roman Catholic side this is denied. At confederation Brown accepted the Act of 1863 as a final settlement. He said that if he had been present in 1863, he would have voted against the bill, because it extended the facility for establishing separate schools. "It had, however, this good feature, that it was accepted by the Roman Catholic authorities, and carried through parliament as a final compromise of the question in Upper Canada." He added: "I have not the slightest hesitation in accepting it as a necessary condition of the union." With confederation, therefore, we may regard Brown's opposition to separate schools in Upper Canada as ended. In accepting the terms of confederation, he accepted the Separate School Act of 1863, though with the condition that it should be final, a condition repudiated on the Roman Catholic side.

The Sandfield Macdonald government was weakened by this incident, and it soon afterwards fell upon a general vote of want of confidence moved by Mr. John A. Macdonald. Parliament was dissolved and an election was held in the summer of 1863. The Macdonald-Dorion government obtained a majority in Upper but not in Lower Canada, and on the whole, its tenure of power was precarious in the extreme. Finally, in March, 1864, it resigned without waiting for a vote of want of confidence. Its successor, the Taché-Macdonald government, had a life of only three months, and its death marks the birth of a new era.

CHAPTER XV

CONFEDERATION

"EVENTS stronger than advocacy, events stronger than men," to repeat D'Arcy McGee's phrase, combined in 1864 to remove confederation from the field of speculation to the field of action. For several years the British government had been urging upon Canada the necessity for undertaking a greater share of her own defence. This view was expressed with disagreeable candour in the London *Times* and elsewhere on the occasion of the defeat of the Militia Bill of 1862. The American Civil War emphasized the necessity for measures of defence. At the time of the *Trent* seizure, Great Britain and the United States were on the verge of war, of which Canada would have been the battleground. As the war progressed, the world was astonished by the development of the military power of the republic. It seemed not improbable, at that time, that when the success of the North was assured, its great armies would be used for the subjugation of Canada. The North had come to regard Canada as a home of Southern sympathizers and a place in which conspiracies against the republic were hatched by Southerners. Though Canada was not to blame for the use that was made of its soil, yet some ill-feeling was aroused, and public men were warranted in regarding the peril as real.

Canada was also about to lose a large part of its trade. For ten years that trade had been built up largely on the basis of reciprocity with the United States, and the war had largely increased the American demand for Canadian products. It was generally expected, and that expectation was fulfilled, that the treaty would be abrogated by the United States. It was feared that the policy of commercial non-intercourse would be carried even farther, the bonding system abolished, and Canada cut off from access to the seaboard during the winter.[1]

If we add to these difficulties the domestic dissensions of Canada, we must recognize that the outlook was dark. Canada was then a fringe of settlement, extending from the Detroit River to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, having no independent access to the Atlantic except during the summer. She had been depending largely upon Great Britain for defence, and upon the United States for trade. She had received warning that both these supports were to be weakened, and that she must rely more on her own resources, find new channels of trade and new means of defence. The country lay in the midst of the continent, isolated from the west, isolated in part from the east, with a powerful and not too friendly neighbour to the south. Upper and Lower Canada, with their racial differences as sharply defined as in the days of Lord Durham, regarded each other with distrust; one political combination after another had failed to obtain a working majority of the legislature, and domestic government was paralyzed. Such a combination of danger and difficulty, within and without, might well arouse alarm, rebuke faction and stimulate patriotism.

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[1] Sir Richard Cartwright says also that the credit of Canada was very low, largely because of the troubles of the Grand Trunk Railway Company. *Memories of Confederation*, p. 3.

The election of 1863 was virtually a drawn battle. The Reformers had a large majority in Upper Canada, their opponents a like majority in Lower Canada, and thus not only the two parties, but the two provinces, were arrayed against each other. The Reform government, headed by Sandfield Macdonald and Dorion, found its position of weakness and humiliation intolerable, and resigned in March, 1864. The troubled governor-general called upon A. T. Fergusson Blair, a colleague of Sandfield Macdonald, to form a new administration. He failed. He called upon Cartier with a like result. He finally had a little better success with Sir E. P. Taché, a veteran who had been a colleague of Baldwin, of Hincks, and of Macdonald. Taché virtually restored the Cartier-Macdonald government, taking in Foley and McGee from the other side. In less than three months, on June 14th, this government was defeated, and on the very day of its defeat relief came. Letters written by Brown to his family during the month preceding the crisis throw some light on the situation.

On May 13th he writes: "Things here are very unsatisfactory; no one sees his way out of the mess—and there is no way but my way—representation by population. There is great talk to-day of coalition—and what do you think? Why, that in order to make the coalition successful, the imperial government are to offer me the government of one of the British colonies. I have been gravely asked to-day by several if it is true, and whether I would accept. My reply was, I would rather be proprietor of the *Globe* newspaper for a few years than be governor-general of Canada, much less a trumpery little province. But I need hardly tell you, the thing has no foundation, beyond sounding what could be done to put me out of the way and let mischief go on. But we won't be bought at any price, shall we?" On May 18th he writes that he has brought on his motion for constitutional changes, and on May 20th that it has carried and taken Cartier and Macdonald by surprise. "Much that is directly practical may not flow from the committee, but it is an enormous gain to have the acknowledgment on our journals that a great evil exists, and that some remedy must be found."

On June 14th Mr. Brown, as chairman of a committee appointed to consider the difficulties connected with the government of Canada, brought in a report recommending "a federative system, applied either to Canada alone, or to the whole British North American provinces." This was the day on which the Taché government was defeated. On the subject of the negotiations which followed between Mr. Brown and the government, there is a difference between the account given by Sir John Macdonald in the House, and accepted by all parties as official, and a letter written by Mr. Brown to a member of his family. The official account represents the first movement as coming from Mr. Brown, the letter says that the suggestion came from the governor-general. It would seem likely that the idea moved gradually from informal conversations to formal propositions. The governor had proposed a coalition on the defeat of the Macdonald-Dorion government, and he repeated the suggestion on the defeat of the Taché-Macdonald government; but his official memorandum contains no reference to constitutional changes. It would seem that there was a great deal of talk of coalition in the air before Brown made his proposals, and perhaps some talk of offering him an appointment that would remove him from public life. But the Conservative ministers were apparently thinking merely of a coalition that would break the dead-lock, and enable the ordinary business of the country to proceed. Brown's idea was to find a permanent remedy in the form of a change in the constitution. When he made his proposal to co-operate with his opponents for the purpose of settling the difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada, his proposal fell upon minds familiarized with the idea of coalition, and hence its ready acceptance. On his part, Mr. Brown was ready to abate certain party advantages in order to bring about constitutional reform. Mr. Ferrier, in the debate on confederation, says that it was he who suggested that the proposal made by Mr. Brown to Mr. Pope and Mr. Morris should be communicated to the government. Ferrier gives a lively account of the current gossip as to the meeting between Brown and the ministers. "I think I can remember this being said, that when Mr. Galt met Mr. Brown he received him with that manly, open frankness which characterizes him; that when Mr. Cartier met Mr. Brown, he looked carefully to see that his two Rouge friends were not behind him, and that when he was satisfied they were not, he embraced him with open arms and swore eternal friendship; and that Mr. Macdonald, at a very quick glance, saw there was an opportunity of forming a great and powerful dependency of the British empire. . . . We all thought, in fact, that a political millennium had arrived."

In a family letter written at this time Mr. Brown said: "June 18th, past one in the morning. We have had great times since I wrote you. On Tuesday we defeated the government by a majority of two. They asked the governor-general to dissolve parliament, and he consented; but before acting on it, at the governor's suggestion, they applied to me to aid them in reconstructing the government, on the basis of settling the constitutional difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada. I refused to accept office, but agreed to help them earnestly and sincerely in the matter they proposed. Negotiations were thereupon commenced, and are still going on, with considerable hope of finding a satisfactory solution to our trouble. The facts were announced in the House to-day by John A. Macdonald, amid tremendous cheering from both sides of the House. You never saw such a scene; but you will have it all in the papers, so I need not repeat. Both sides are extremely urgent that I should accept a place in the government, if it were only for a week; but I will not do this unless it is absolutely needed to the success of the negotiations. A more agreeable proposal is that I should go to England to arrange the new constitution with the imperial government. But as the whole thing may fail, we will not count our chickens just yet."

Sir Richard Cartwright, then a young member of parliament, relates an incident illustrating the tension on men's minds at that time. He says: "On that memorable afternoon when Mr. Brown, not without emotion, made his statement to a hushed and expectant House, and declared that he was about to ally himself with Sir Georges Cartier and his friends for the purpose of carrying out confederation, I saw an excitable, elderly little

French member rush across the floor, climb up on Mr. Brown, who, as you remember, was of a stature approaching the gigantic, fling his arms about his neck and hang several seconds there suspended, to the visible consternation of Mr. Brown and to the infinite joy of all beholders, pit, box and gallery included."[1]

The official account given by Mr. Macdonald in the House, is that immediately after the defeat of the government on Tuesday night (the 14th), and on the following morning, Mr. Brown spoke to several supporters of the administration, strongly urging that the present crisis should be utilized in settling forever the constitutional difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada, and assuring them that he was ready to co-operate with the existing or any other administration that would deal with the question promptly and firmly, with a view to its final settlement. Mr. Morris and Mr. Pope, to whom the suggestion was made, obtained leave to communicate it to Mr. John A. Macdonald and Mr. Galt. On June 17th Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Galt called upon Mr. Brown. In the conversation that ensued Mr. Brown expressed his extreme reluctance to entering the ministry, declaring that the public mind would be shocked by such an arrangement. The personal question being dropped for the time, Mr. Brown asked what remedy was proposed.

[1] *Memories of Confederation.* An address delivered before the Canadian Club of Ottawa, January 20th, 1906.

Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Galt replied that their remedy was a federal union of all the British North American provinces. Mr. Brown said that this would not be acceptable to Upper Canada. The federation of all the provinces ought to come and would come in time, but it had not yet been thoroughly considered by the people; and even were this otherwise, there were so many parties to be consulted that its adoption was uncertain and remote. He expressed his preference for parliamentary reform, based on population. On further discussion it appeared that a compromise might be found in an alternative plan, a federal union of all the British North American provinces or a federal union of Upper and Lower Canada, with provision for the admission of the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory when they desired. There was apparently a difference of opinion as to which alternative should be presented first. One memorandum reduced to writing gave the preference to the larger federation; the second and final memorandum contained this agreement: "The government are prepared to pledge themselves to bring in a measure next session for the purpose of removing existing difficulties by introducing the federal principle into Canada, coupled with such provisions as will permit the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory to be incorporated into the same system of government. And the government will, by sending representatives to the Lower Provinces and to England, use its best endeavours to secure the assent of those interests which are beyond the control of our own legislation to such a measure as may enable all British North America to be united under a general legislature based upon the federal principle."

It was Mr. Brown who insisted on this mode of presentation. At the convention of 1859 he had expressed in the strongest language his hope for the creation of a great Canadian nationality; and he had for years advocated the inclusion of the North-West Territories in a greater Canada. But he regarded the settlement of the difficulties of Upper and Lower Canada as the most pressing question of the hour, and he did not desire that the solution of this question should be delayed or imperilled. Galt's plan of federation, comprehensive and admirable as it was, had failed because the assent of the Maritime Provinces could not be secured; and for five years afterwards no progress had been made. It was natural that Brown should be anxiously desirous that the plan for the reform of the union of the Canadas should not fail, whatever else might happen.

On June 21st, Mr. Brown called a meeting of the members of the Opposition for Upper Canada. It was resolved, on motion of Mr. Hope Mackenzie, "that we approve of the course which has been pursued by Mr. Brown in the negotiations with the government, and that we approve of the project of a federal union of the Canadas, with provision for the inclusion of the Maritime Provinces and the

North-West Territory, as one basis on which the constitutional difficulties now existing could be settled." Thirty-four members voted for this motion, five declining to vote. A motion that three members of the Opposition should enter the government was not so generally supported, eleven members, including Alexander Mackenzie and Oliver Mowat, voting in the negative. The Lower Canadian Reformers held aloof, and in the subsequent debate in the legislature, strongly opposed confederation.

There were many evidences of the keen interest taken by the governor-general (Monk) in the negotiations. On June 21st he wrote to Mr. Brown: "I think the success or failure of the negotiations which have been going on for some days, with a view to the formation of a strong government on a broad basis, depends very much on your consenting to come into the cabinet.

"Under these circumstances I must again take the liberty of pressing upon you, by this note, my opinion of the grave responsibility which you will take upon yourself if you refuse to do so.

"Those who have hitherto opposed your views have consented to join with you in good faith for the purpose of extricating the province from what appears to me a very dangerous position.

"They have frankly offered to take up and endeavour to settle on principles satisfactory to all, the great constitutional question which you, by your energy and ability, have made your own.

"The details of that settlement must necessarily be the subject of grave debate in the cabinet, and I confess I cannot see how you are to take part in that discussion, or how your opinions can be brought to bear on the arrangement of the question, unless you occupy a place at the council table.

"I hope I may, without impropriety, ask you to take these opinions into consideration before you arrive at a final decision as to your own course."

Mr. Brown wrote home that he, in consenting to enter the cabinet, was influenced by the vote of the Reform members, by private letters from many quarters, and still more by the extreme urgency of the governor-general. "The thing that finally determined me was the fact, ascertained by Mowat and myself, that unless we went in the whole effort for constitutional changes would break down, and the enormous advantages gained by our negotiations probably be lost. Finally, at three o'clock yesterday, I consented to enter the cabinet as 'president of the council,' with other two seats in the cabinet at my disposal—one of which Mowat will take, and probably Macdougall the other. We consented with great reluctance, but there was no help for it; and it was such a temptation to have possibly the power of settling the sectional troubles of Canada forever. The announcement was made in the House yesterday, and the excitement all over the province is intense. I send you an official copy of the proceedings during the negotiations, from which you will see the whole story. By next mail I intend to send you some extracts from the newspapers. The unanimity of sentiment is without example in this country, and were it not that I know at their exact value the worth of newspaper laudations, I might be puffed up a little in my own conceit. After the explanations by ministers I had to make a speech, but was so excited and nervous at the events of the last few days that I nearly broke down. However, after a little I got over it, and made (as Mowat alleges) the most telling speech I ever made. There was great cheering when I sat down, and many members from both sides crowded round me to congratulate me. In short, the whole movement is a grand success, and I really believe will have an immense influence on the future destinies of Canada."

The formation of the coalition cabinet was announced on June 30th. Foley, Buchanan and Simpson, members of the Upper Canadian section of the Taché-Macdonald ministry, retired, and their places were taken by the Hon. George Brown, Oliver Mowat, and William Macdougall. Otherwise the ministry remained unchanged. Sir E. P. Taché, though a Conservative, was acceptable to both parties, and was well fitted to head a genuine coalition. But it must have been evident from the first that the character of a coalition would not be long maintained. The Reform party, which had just defeated the government in the legislature, was represented by only three ministers out of twelve; and this, with Macdonald's skill in managing combinations of men, made it morally certain that the ministry must eventually become Conservative, just as happened in the case of the coalition of 1854. Brown had asked that the Reformers be represented by four ministers from Upper Canada and two from Lower Canada, which would, as nearly as possible, have corresponded with the strength of his party in the legislature. Galt and Macdonald represented that a change in the personnel of the Lower Canadian section of the cabinet would disturb the people and shake their confidence. The Lower Canadian Liberal leaders, Dorion and Holton, were adverse to the coalition scheme, regarding it as a mere device for enabling Macdonald and his friends to hold office.

Mowat and Brown were re-elected without difficulty, but Macdougall met with strong opposition in North Ontario. Brown, who was working hard in his interests, found this opposition so strong among Conservatives that he telegraphed to Macdonald, who sent a strong letter on behalf of Macdougall. Brown said that the opposition came chiefly from Orangemen. The result was that Macdougall, in spite of the assistance of the two leaders, was defeated by one hundred. He was subsequently elected for North Lanark. In other bye-elections the advocates of confederation were generally successful. In the confederation debate, Brown said there had been twenty-five contests, fourteen for the Upper House and eleven for the Lower House, and that only one or two opponents of confederation had been elected.

There had been for some years an intermittent movement for the union of the Maritime Provinces, and in 1864 their legislatures had authorized the holding of a convention at Charlottetown. Accordingly eight members of the Canadian ministry visited Charlottetown, where they were cordially welcomed. They dwelt on the advantage of substituting the larger for the smaller plan of union, and the result of their representations was that arrangements were made for the holding of a general conference at Quebec later in the year. The Canadian ministers made a tour through the Maritime Provinces, speaking in public and familiarizing the people with the plan. At a banquet in Halifax, Mr. Brown gave a full exposition of the project and its advantages in regard to defence, commerce, national strength and dignity, adding that it would end the petty strifes of a small community, and elevate politics and politicians.

The scheme was destined to undergo a more severe ordeal in the Maritime Provinces than these festive gatherings. For the present, progress was rapid, and the maritime tour was followed by the conference at Quebec, which opened on October 10th, 1864.

CHAPTER XVI

THE QUEBEC CONFERENCE

THE conference was held with closed doors, so as to encourage free discussion. Some fragmentary notes have been preserved. One impression derived from this and other records is that the public men of that day had been much impressed by the Civil War in the United States, by the apparent weakness of the central authority there, and by the dangers of State sovereignty. Emphasis was laid upon the monarchical element of the proposed constitution for Canada, and upon the fact that powers not expressly defined were to rest in the general, instead of the local, legislatures. In fact, Mr. Chandler, a representative of New Brunswick, complained that the proposed union was legislative, not federal, and reduced the local governments to the status of municipal corporations. In practice these residuary powers were not so formidable as they appeared; the defined powers of the local legislatures were highly important, and were fully maintained, if not enlarged, as a result of the resolute attitude of Ontario under the Mowat government. But the notion that Canada must avoid the dangers of State sovereignty is continually cropping up in the literature of confederation. Friends and opponents of the new constitution made much of these mysterious residuary powers, and the Lower Canadian Liberals feared that they were being drawn into a union that would destroy the liberties and imperil the cherished institutions of the French-Canadian people.

Another point is the extraordinary amount of time and labour given to the constitution of the senate. "The conference proceedings," wrote Mr. Brown, "get along very well, considering we were very near broken up on the question of the distribution of members in the Upper Chamber of the federal legislature, but fortunately, we have this morning got the matter amicably compromised, after a loss of three days in discussing it." During the latter years of the union, the elective system had prevailed in Canada, and Mowat, Macdougall and others favoured continuing this practice, but were overruled. Brown joined Macdonald in supporting the nominative system. His reasons were given in his speech in the legislature in 1865. He believed that two elective chambers were incompatible with the British parliamentary system. The Upper Chamber, if elected, might claim equal power with the Lower, including power over money bills. It might amend money bills, might reject all legislation, and stop the machinery of government. With a Conservative majority in one House, and a Reform majority in the other, a dead-lock might occur. To the objection that the change from the elective to the nominative system involved a diminution of the power of the people, Mr. Brown answered that the government of the day would be responsible for each appointment. It must be admitted that this responsibility is of little practical value, and that Mr. Brown fully shared in the delusions of his time as to the manner in which the senate would be constituted, and the part it would play in the government of the country.

A rupture was threatened also on the question of finance. A large number of local works which in Upper Canada were paid for by local municipal taxation, were in the Maritime Provinces provided out of the provincial revenues. The adjustment was a difficult matter, and finally it was found necessary for the financial representatives of the different provinces to withdraw, for the purpose of constructing a scheme.

On October 28th the conference was concluded, and its resolutions substantially form the constitution of Canada. On October 31st Brown wrote: "We got through our work at Quebec very well. The constitution is not exactly to my mind in all its details—but as a whole it is wonderful, really wonderful. When one thinks of all the fighting we have had for fifteen years, and finds the very men who fought us every inch, now going far beyond what we asked, I am amazed and sometimes alarmed lest it all go to pieces yet. We have yet to pass the ordeal of public opinion in the several provinces, and sad, indeed, will it be if the measure is not adopted by acclamation in them all. For Upper Canada we may well rejoice on the day it becomes law. Nearly all our past difficulties are ended by it, whatever new ones may arise."

A journey made by the delegates through Canada after the draft was completed enabled Canadians to make the acquaintance of some men of mark in the Maritime Provinces, including Tilley, of New Brunswick, and Tupper, of Nova Scotia, and it evoked in Upper Canada warm expressions of public feeling in favour of the new union. It is estimated that eight thousand people met the delegates at the railway station in Toronto. At a dinner given in the Music Hall in that city, Mr. Brown explained the new constitution fully. He frankly confessed that he was a convert to the scheme of the Intercolonial Railway, for the reason that it was essential to the union between Canada and the Maritime Provinces. The canal system was to be extended, and as soon as the finances would permit communication was to be opened with the North-West Territory. "This was the first time," wrote Mr. Brown, "that the confederation scheme was really laid open to the public. No doubt —— was right in saying that the French-Canadians were restive about the scheme, but the feeling in favour of it is all but unanimous here, and I think there is a good chance of carrying it. At any rate, come what may, I can now get out of the affair and out of public life with honour, for I have had placed on record a scheme that would bring to an end all the grievances of which Upper Canada has so long complained."

The British government gave its hearty blessing to the confederation, and the outlook was hopeful. In December, 1864, Mr. Brown sailed for England, for the purpose of obtaining the views of the British government. He wrote from London to Mr. Macdonald that the scheme had given prodigious satisfaction. "The ministry, the Conservatives and the Manchester men are all delighted with it, and everything Canadian has gone up in public estimation immensely. . . . Indeed, from all classes of people you hear nothing but high praise of 'Canadian statesmanship,' and loud anticipations of the great future before us. I am much concerned to observe, however, and I write it to you as a thing that must seriously be considered by all men taking a lead hereafter in Canadian public matters—that there is a manifest desire in almost every quarter, that ere long the British American colonies should shift for themselves, and in some quarters evident regret that we did not declare at once for independence. I am very sorry to observe this, but it arises, I hope, from the fear of invasion of Canada by the United States, and will soon pass away with the cause that excites it."

CHAPTER XVII

THE CONFEDERATION DEBATE

THE parliament of Canada assembled on January 19th, 1865, to consider the resolutions of the Quebec conference. The first presentation of the reasons for confederation was made in the Upper Chamber by the premier, Sir E. P. Taché. He described the measure as essential to British connection, to the preservation of "our institutions, our laws, and even our remembrances of the past." If the opportunity were allowed to pass by unimproved, Canada would be forced into the American union by violence; or would be placed upon an inclined plane which would carry it there insensibly. Canada, during the winter, had no independent means of access to the sea, but was dependent on the favour of a neighbour which, in several ways, had shown a hostile spirit. The people of the Northern States had an exaggerated idea of Canadian sympathy with the South, and the consequences of this misapprehension were—first, the threatened abolition of the transit system; second, the discontinuance of reciprocity; third, a passport system, which was almost equivalent to a prohibition of intercourse. Union with the Maritime Provinces would give Canada continuous and independent access to the Atlantic; and the Maritime Provinces would bring into the common stock their magnificent harbours, their coal mines, their great fishing and shipping industries. Then he recounted the difficulties that had occurred in the government of Canada, ending in dead-lock, and a condition "bordering on civil strife." He declared that Lower Canada had resisted representation by population under a legislative union, but that if a federal union were obtained, it would be tantamount to a separation of the provinces, and Lower Canada would thereby preserve its autonomy, together with all the institutions it held so dear. These were the main arguments for confederation, and in the speeches which followed on that side they were repeated, enforced, and illustrated in various ways.

In the assembly, Mr. John A. Macdonald, as attorney-general, gave a clear and concise description of the new constitution. He admitted that he had preferred a legislative union, but had recognized that such a union would not have been accepted either by Lower Canada or the Maritime Provinces. The union between Upper and Lower Canada, legislative in name, had been federal in fact, there being, by tacit consent and practice, a separate body of legislation for each part of the province. He described the new scheme of government as a happy combination of the strength of a legislative union with the freedom of a federal union, and with protection to local interests. The constitution of the

United States was "one of the most skilful works which human intelligence ever created; one of the most perfect organizations that ever governed a free people." Experience had shown that its main defect was the doctrine of State sovereignty. This blemish was avoided in the Canadian constitution by vesting all residuary powers in the central government and legislature. The Canadian system would also be distinguished from the American by the recognition of monarchy and of the principle of responsible government. The connection of Canada with Great Britain he regarded as tending towards a permanent alliance. "The colonies are now in a transition state. Gradually a different colonial system is being developed; and it will become year by year less a case of dependence on our part, and of overruling protection on the part of the mother country, and more a case of a hearty and cordial alliance. Instead of looking upon us as a merely dependent colony, England will have in us a friendly nation—a subordinate, but still a powerful people—to stand by her in North America, in peace or in war."

Brown spoke on the night of February 8th, his speech, occupying four hours and a half in delivery, showing the marks of careful preparation. He drew an illustration from the mighty struggle that had well-nigh rent the republic asunder, and was then within a few weeks of its close. "We are striving," he said, "to settle forever issues hardly less momentous than those that have rent the neighbouring republic and are now exposing it to all the horrors of civil war. Have we not then great cause for thankfulness that we have found a better way for the solution of our troubles? And should not every one of us endeavour to rise to the magnitude of the occasion, and earnestly seek to deal with this question to the end, in the same candid and conciliatory spirit in which, so far, it has been discussed?"

He warned the assembly that whatever else happened, the constitution of Canada would not remain unchanged. "Something must be done. We cannot stand still. We cannot go back to chronic, sectional hostility and discord—to a state of perpetual ministerial crisis. The events of the last eight months cannot be obliterated—the solemn admissions of men of all parties can never be erased. The claims of Upper Canada for justice must be met, and met now. Every one who raises his voice in hostility to this measure is bound to keep before him, when he speaks, all the perilous consequences of its rejection. No man who has a true regard for the well-being of Canada can give a vote against this scheme unless he is prepared to offer, in amendment, some better remedy for the evils and injustice that have so long threatened the peace of our country."

In the first place, he said confederation would provide a complete remedy for the injustice of the system of parliamentary representation, by giving Upper Canada, in the House of Commons, the number of members to which it was entitled by population. In the senate, the principle of representation by population would not be maintained, an equal number of senators being allotted to Ontario, to Quebec, and to the group of Maritime Provinces, without regard to population. Secondly, the plan would remedy the injustice of which Upper Canada had complained in regard to public expenditures. "No longer shall we have to complain that one section pays the cash while the other spends it; hereafter they who pay will spend, and they who spend more than they ought, will bear the brunt. If we look back on our doings of the last fifteen years, I think it will be acknowledged that the greatest jobs perpetrated were of a sectional character, that our fiercest contests were about local matters that stirred up sectional jealousies and indignation to their deepest depth." Confederation would end sectional discord between Upper and Lower Canada. Questions that used to excite sectional hostility and jealousy were now removed from the common legislature to the legislatures of the provinces. No man need be debarred from a public career because his opinions, popular in his own province, were unpopular in another. Among the local questions that had disturbed the peace of the common legislature, he mentioned the construction of local works, the endowment of ecclesiastical institutions, the granting of money for sectarian purposes, and interference with school systems.

He advocated confederation because it would convert a group of inconsiderable colonies into a powerful union of four million people, with a revenue of thirteen million dollars, a trade of one hundred and thirty-seven million five hundred thousand dollars, rich natural resources and important industries. Among these he dwelt at length on the shipping of the Maritime Provinces. These were the days of the wooden ship, and Mr. Brown claimed that federated Canada would be the third maritime power in the world. Confederation would give a new impetus to immigration and settlement. Communication with the west would be opened up, as soon as the state of the finances permitted. Negotiations had been carried on with the imperial government for the addition of the North-West Territories to Canada; and when those fertile plains were opened for settlement, there would be an immense addition to the products of Canada. The establishment of free trade between Canada and the Maritime Provinces would be some compensation for the loss of trade with the United States, should the reciprocity treaty be abrogated. It would enable the country to assume a larger share of the burden of defence. The time had come when the people of the United Kingdom would insist on a reconsideration of the military relations of Canada to the empire, and that demand was just. Union would facilitate common defence. "The Civil War in the neighbouring republic—the possibility of war between Great Britain and the United States; the threatened repeal of the reciprocity treaty; the threatened abolition of the American bonding system for goods in transit to and from these provinces; the unsettled position of the Hudson's Bay Company; the changed feeling of England as to the relations of Canada to the parent state; all combine at this moment to arrest the earnest attention to the gravity of the situation and unite us all in one vigorous effort to meet the emergency like men."

A strong speech against confederation was made by Dorion, an old friend of Brown, a staunch Liberal, and a representative French-Canadian. He declared that he had seen no ground for changing his opinion on two points—the substitution of an Upper Chamber, nominated by the Crown, for an elective body; and the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, which he, with other Liberals, had always opposed. He had always admitted that representation by population was a just principle; and in 1856 he had suggested, in the legislature, the substitution of a federal for a legislative union of the Canadas; or failing this, representation by population, with such checks and guarantees as would secure local rights and interests, and preserve to Lower Canada its cherished institutions. When the Brown-Dorion government was formed, he had proposed a federation of the Canadas, but with the distinct understanding that he would not attempt to carry such a measure without the consent of a majority of the people of Lower Canada. From the document issued by the Lower Canadian Liberals in 1859, he quoted a passage in which it was laid down that the powers given to the central government should be only those that were essential, and that the local powers should be as ample as possible. "All that belongs to matters of a purely local character, such as education, the administration of justice, the militia, the laws relating to property, police, etc., ought to be referred to the local governments, whose powers ought generally to extend to all subjects which would not be given to the general government." The vesting of residuary powers in the provinces was an important difference between this and the scheme of confederation; but the point most dwelt upon by Dorion was the inclusion of the Maritime Provinces, which he strongly opposed.

Dorion denied that the difficulty about representation was the source of the movement for confederation. He contended that the agitation for representation by population had died out, and that the real authors of confederation were the owners of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, who stood to gain by the construction of the Intercolonial. "The Taché-Macdonald government were defeated because the House condemned them for taking without authority one hundred thousand dollars out of the public chest for the Grand Trunk Railway, at a time when there had not been a party vote on representation by population for one or two sessions." He declared that Macdonald had, in Brown's committee of 1864, voted against confederation, and that he and his colleagues adopted the scheme simply to enable them to remain in office. Dorion also criticized adversely the change in the constitution of the Upper Chamber, from the elective to the nominative system. The Conservative instincts of Macdonald and Cartier, he said, led them to strengthen the power of the Crown at the expense of the people, and this constitution was a specimen of their handiwork. "With a governor-general appointed by the Crown; with local governors also appointed by the Crown; with legislative councils in the general legislature, and in all the provinces, nominated by the Crown, we shall have the most illiberal constitution ever heard of in any government where constitutional government prevails."

He objected to the power vested in the governor-general-in-council to veto the acts of local legislatures. His expectation was that a minority in the local legislature might appeal to their party friends at Ottawa to veto laws which they disliked, and that thus there would be constant interference, agitation and strife between the central and the local authorities. He suspected that the intention was ultimately to change the federal union to a legislative union. The scheme of confederation was being carried without submission to the people. What would prevent the change from a federal to a legislative union from being accomplished in a similar way? To this the people of Lower Canada would not submit. "A million of inhabitants may seem a small affair to the mind of a philosopher who sits down to write out a constitution. He may think it would be better that there should be but one religion, one language and one system of laws; and he goes to work to frame institutions that will bring all to that desirable state; but I can tell the honourable gentleman that the history of every country goes to show that not even by the power of the sword can such changes be accomplished."

With some exaggeration Mr. Dorion struck at real faults in the scheme of confederation. The contention that the plan ought to have been submitted to the people is difficult to meet except upon the plea of necessity, or the plea that the end justifies the means. There was assuredly no warrant for depriving the people of the power of electing the second chamber; and the new method, appointment by the government of the day, has been as unsatisfactory in practice as it was unsound in principle. The federal veto on provincial laws has not been used to the extent that Dorion feared. But when we consider how partisan considerations have governed appointments to the senate, we can scarcely say that there was no ground for the fear that the power of disallowance would be similarly abused. Nor can we say that Mr. Dorion was needlessly anxious about provincial rights, when we remember how persistently these have been attacked, and what strength, skill and resolution have been required to defend them.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE MISSION TO ENGLAND

A NEW turn was given to the debate early in March by the defeat of the New Brunswick government in a general election, which meant a defeat for confederation, and by the arrival of news of an important debate in the House of Lords on the defences of Canada. The situation suddenly became critical. That part of the confederation scheme which related to the Maritime Provinces was in grave danger of failure. At the same time the long-standing controversy between the imperial and colonial authorities as to the defence of Canada had come to a head. The two subjects were intimately connected. The British government had been led to believe that if confederation were accomplished, the defensive power of Canada would be much increased, and the new union would be ready to assume larger obligations. From this time the tone of the debate is entirely changed. It ceases to be a philosophic deliberation of the merits of the new scheme. A note of urgency and anxiety is found in the ministerial speeches; the previous question is moved, and the proceedings hurried to a close, amid angry protests from the Opposition.

Mr. Brown wrote on March 5th: "We are going to have a great scene in the House to-day. . . The government of New Brunswick appealed to the people on confederation by a general election, and have got beaten. This puts a serious obstacle in the way of our scheme, and we mean to act promptly and decidedly upon it. At three o'clock we are to announce the necessity of carrying the resolutions at once, sending home a deputation to England, and proroguing parliament without any unnecessary delay—say in a week."

The announcement was made to the House by Attorney-General Macdonald, who laid much stress on the disappointment that would be occasioned in England by the abandonment of a scheme by which Canadian colonies should cease to be a source of embarrassment, and become a source of strength. The question of confederation was intimately connected with the question of defence, and that was a question of the most imminent necessity. The provincial government had been in continued correspondence with the home government as to defence "against every hostile pressure, from whatever source it may come."

A lively debate ensued. John Sandfield Macdonald said that the defeat of the New Brunswick government meant the defeat of the larger scheme of confederation, unless it was intended that the people should be bribed into acquiescence or bullied into submission. "The Hon. Mr. Tilley and his followers are routed, horse and foot, by the honest people of the province, scouted by those whose interests he had betrayed, and whose behests he had neglected; and I think his fate ought to be a warning to those who adopted this scheme without authority, and who ask the House to ratify it *en bloc*, without seeking to obtain the sanction of the people." Later on he charged the ministers with the intention of manufacturing an entirely new bill, obtaining the sanction of the British government, and forcing it on the Canadian people, as was done in 1840.

This charge was hotly resented by Brown, and it drew from John A. Macdonald a more explicit statement of the intentions of the government. They would, if the legislature adopted the confederation resolutions, proceed to England, inform the imperial government of what had passed in Canada and New Brunswick, and take counsel with that government as to the affairs of Canada, especially in regard to defence and the reciprocity treaty. The legislature would then be called together again forthwith, the report of the conferences in England submitted, and the business relating to confederation completed.

On the following day Macdonald made another announcement, referring to a debate in the House of Lords on February 20th, which he regarded as of the utmost importance. A report made by a Colonel Jervois on the defences of Canada had been published, and the publication, exposing the extreme weakness of Canada, was regarded as an official indiscretion. It asserted that under the arrangements then existing British and Canadian forces together could not defend the colony. Lord Lyveden brought the question up in the House of Lords, and dwelt upon the gravity of the situation created by the defencelessness of Canada and by the hostility of the United States. He held that Great Britain must do one of two things: withdraw her troops and abandon the country altogether, or defend it with the full power of the empire. It was folly to send troops out in driblets, and spend money in the same way. The Earl de Grey and Ripon, replying for the government, said that Jervois' report contained nothing that was not previously known about the weakness of Canada. He explained the proposed arrangement by which the imperial government was to fortify Quebec at a cost of two hundred thousand pounds, and Canada would undertake the defence of Montreal and the West.[1]

Commenting on a report of this discussion, Mr. Macdonald said there had been negotiations between the two governments, and that he hoped these would result in full provision for the defence of Canada, both east and west. It was of the utmost importance that Canada should be represented in England at this juncture. In order to expedite the debate by shutting out amendments, he moved the previous question.

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[1] Hansard, House of Lords, February 20th, 1865. See also a long and important debate in the British House of Commons, March 13th, 1865.

Macdonald's motion provoked charges of burking free discussion, and counter-charges of obstruction, want of patriotism and inclinations towards annexation. The debate lost its academic calm and became acrimonious. Holton's motion for an adjournment, for the purpose of obtaining further information as to the scheme, was ruled out of order. The same fate befell Dorion's motion for an adjournment of the debate and an appeal to the people, on the ground that it involved fundamental changes in the political institutions and political relations of the province; changes not contemplated at the last general election.

On March 12th the main motion adopting the resolutions of the Quebec conference was carried by ninety-one to thirty-three. On the following day an amendment similar to Dorion's, for an appeal to the people, was moved by the Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, of Peel, seconded by Matthew Crooks Cameron, of North Ontario. Undoubtedly the argument for submission to the people was strong, and was hardly met by Brown's vigorous speech in reply. But the overwhelming opinion of the House was against delay, and on March 13th the discussion came to an end.

The prospects for the inclusion of the Maritime Provinces were now poor. Newfoundland and

Prince Edward Island withdrew. A strong feeling against confederation was arising in Nova Scotia, and it was proposed there to return to the original idea of a separate maritime union. It was decided to ask the aid of the British government in overcoming the hesitation of the Maritime Provinces. The British authorities were pressing Canada to assume increased obligations as to defence. Defence depended on confederation, and England, by exercising some friendly pressure on New Brunswick, might promote both objects.

The committee appointed to confer with the British government was composed of Macdonald, Brown, Cartier and Galt. They met in England a committee of the imperial cabinet, Gladstone, Cardwell, the Duke of Somerset and Earl de Grey and Ripon. An agreement was arrived at as to defence. Canada would undertake works of defence at and west of Montreal, and maintain a certain militia force; Great Britain would complete fortifications at Quebec, provide the whole armament and guarantee a loan for the sum necessary to construct the works undertaken by Canada, and in case of war would defend every portion of Canada with all the resources of the empire. An agreement was made as to the acquisition of the Hudson Bay Territory by Canada, and as to the influence to be brought to bear on the Maritime Provinces. "The idea of coercing the Maritime Provinces into the measure was never for a moment entertained." The end sought was to impress upon them the grave responsibility of thwarting a measure so pregnant with future prosperity to British America.

In spite of the mild language used in regard to New Brunswick, the fact that its consent was a vital part of the whole scheme must have been an incentive to heroic measures, and these were taken.

One of the causes of the defeat of the confederation government of New Brunswick had been the active hostility of the lieutenant-governor, Mr. Arthur Hamilton Gordon, son of the Earl of Aberdeen. He was strongly opposed to the change, and is believed to have gone to the limit of his authority in aiding and encouraging its opponents in the election of 1865. Soon afterwards he visited England, and it is believed that he was sent for by the home authorities and was taken to task for his conduct, and instructed to assist in carrying out confederation. A despatch from Cardwell, secretary of state for the colonies, to Governor Gordon, expressed the strong and deliberate opinion of Her Majesty's government in favour of a union of all the North American colonies.[1]

The governor carried out his instructions with the zeal of a convert, showed the despatch to the head of his government, set about converting him also, and believed he had been partly successful. The substance of the despatch was inserted in the speech from the throne, when the legislature met on March 8th, 1866. The legislative council adopted an address asking for imperial legislation to unite the British North American colonies. The governor, without waiting for the action of the assembly, made a reply to the council, expressing pleasure at their address, and declaring that he would transmit it to the secretary of state for the colonies. Thereupon the Smith ministry resigned, contending that they ought to have been consulted about the reply, that the council, not having been elected by the people, had no authority to ask the imperial parliament to pass a measure which the people of New Brunswick had expressly rejected at the polls. A protest in similar terms might have been made in the legislative assembly, but the opportunity was not given. A government favourable to confederation was formed under Peter Mitchell, with Tilley as his chief lieutenant, and the legislature was dissolved.

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[1] Journals Canada, 1865, 2nd Session, pp. 8-15.

A threatened Fenian invasion helped to turn the tide of public opinion, and the confederate ministry was returned with a large majority. That result, however desirable, did not sanctify the means taken to bring about a verdict for confederation, which could hardly have been more arbitrary.

CHAPTER XIX

BROWN LEAVES THE COALITION

THE series of events which gradually drew Mr. Brown out of the coalition began with the death of Sir Etienne P. Taché on July 30th, 1865. By his age, his long experience, and a certain mild benignity of disposition, Taché was admirably fitted to be the dean of the coalition and the arbiter between its elements. He had served in Reform and Conservative governments, but without incurring the reproach of overweening love of office. With his departure that of Brown became only a matter of time. To work with Macdonald as an equal was a sufficiently disagreeable duty; to work under him, considering the personal relations of the two men, would have been humiliating. Putting aside the question of where the blame for the long-standing feud lay, it was inevitable that the association should be temporary and brief. On August 3rd the governer-general asked Mr. Macdonald to form an administration. Mr. Macdonald consented, obtained the assent of Mr. Cartier and consulted Mr. Brown. I quote from an authorized memorandum of the conversation. "Mr. Brown replied that he was quite prepared to enter into arrangements for the continuance of the government in the same position as it occupied previous to the death of Sir Etienne P. Taché; but that the proposal now made involved a grave departure from that position. The government, heretofore, had been a coalition of three political parties, each represented by an active party leader, but all acting under one chief, who had ceased to be actuated by strong party feelings or personal ambitions, and who was well fitted to give confidence to all the three sections of the coalition that the conditions which united them would be carried out in good faith to the very letter. Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Cartier and himself [Mr. Brown] were, on the contrary, regarded as party leaders, with party feelings and aspirations, and to place any one of them in an attitude of superiority to the others, with the vast advantage of the premiership, would, in the public mind, lessen the security of good faith, and seriously endanger the existence of the coalition. It would be an entire change of the situation. Whichever of the three was so preferred, the act would amount to an abandonment of the coalition basis, and a reconstruction of the government on party lines under a party leader." When the coalition was formed, the Liberals were in a majority in the legislature; for reasons of State they had relinquished their party advantage, and a government was formed in which the Conservatives had nine members and the Liberals three. In what light would the Liberal party regard this new proposition? Mr. Brown suggested that an invitation be extended to some gentleman of good position in the legislative council, under whom all parties could act with confidence, as successor to Colonel Taché. So far as to the party. Speaking, however, for himself alone, Mr. Brown said he occupied the same position as in 1864. He stood prepared to give outside the ministry a frank and earnest support to any ministry that might be formed for the purpose of carrying out confederation.

Mr. Macdonald replied that he had no personal feeling as to the premiership, and would readily stand aside; and he suggested the name of Mr. Cartier, as leader of the French-Canadians. Mr. Brown said that it would be necessary for him to consult with his political friends. Sir Narcisse F. Belleau, a member of the executive council, was then proposed by Mr. Macdonald, and accepted by Mr. Brown, on condition that the policy of confederation should be stated in precise terms. Sir Narcisse Belleau became nominal prime minister of Canada, and the difficulty was tided over for a few months.

The arrangement, however, was a mere makeshift. The objections set forth by Brown to Macdonald's assuming the title of leader applied with equal force to his assuming the leadership in fact, as he necessarily did under Sir Narcisse Belleau; the discussion over this point, though couched in language of diplomatic courtesy, must have irritated both parties, and their relations grew steadily worse.

The immediate and assigned cause of the rupture was a disagreement in regard to negotiations for the renewal of the reciprocity treaty. It is admitted that it was only in part the real cause, and would not have severed the relations between men who were personally and politically in sympathy.

Mr. Brown had taken a deep interest in the subject of reciprocity. In 1863 he was in communication with John Sandfield Macdonald, then premier of Canada, and Luther Holton, minister of finance. He dwelt on the importance of opening communication with the American government during the administration of Lincoln, whom he regarded as favourable to the renewal of the treaty. Seward, Lincoln's secretary of state, suggested that Canada should have an agent at Washington, with whom he and Lord Lyons, the British ambassador, could confer on Canadian matters. The premier asked Brown to go, saying that all his colleagues were agreed upon his eminent fitness for the mission. Brown declined the mission, contending that Mr. Holton, besides being fully qualified, was, by virtue of his official position as minister of finance, the proper person to represent Canada. He kept urging the importance of taking action early, before the American movement against the renewal of the treaty could gather headway. But neither the Macdonald-Sicotte government nor its successor lived long enough to take action, and the opportunity was lost. The coalition government was fully employed with other matters during 1864, and it was not until the spring of 1865 that the matter of reciprocity was taken up. In the summer of that year the imperial government authorized the formation of a confederate council on reciprocity, consisting of representation from Canada and the other North American colonies, and presided over by the governor-general. Brown and Galt were the representatives of Canada on the council.

Mr. Brown was in the Maritime Provinces in November, 1865, on government business. On his return to Toronto he was surprised to read in American papers a statement that Mr. Galt and Mr. Howland were negotiating with the Committee of Ways and Means at Washington. Explanations were given by Galt at a meeting of the cabinet at Ottawa on December 17th. Seward had told him that the treaty could not be renewed, but that something might be done by reciprocal legislation. After some demur, Mr. Galt went on to discuss the matter on that basis. He suggested the free exchange of natural products, and a designated list of manufactures. The customs duties on foreign goods were to be assimilated as far as possible. Inland waters and canals might be used in common, and maintained at the joint expense of the two countries. Mr. Galt followed up his narrative by proposing that a minute of council be adopted, ratifying what he had done, and authorizing him to proceed to Washington and continue the negotiations.

The discussion that followed lasted several days. Mr. Brown objected strongly to the proceeding. He declared that "Mr. Galt had flung at the heads of the Americans every concession that we had in our power to make, and some that we certainly could not make, so that our case was foreclosed before the commission was opened." He objected still more strongly to the plan of reciprocal legislation, which would keep the people of Canada "dangling from year to year on the legislation of the American congress, looking to Washington instead of to Ottawa as the controller of their commerce and prosperity." The scheme was admirably designed by the Americans to promote annexation. Before each congress the United States press would contain articles threatening ruin to Canadian trade. The Maritime Provinces would take offence at being ignored, and confederation as well as reciprocity might be lost. His own proposal was to treat Mr. Galt's proceedings at Washington as unofficial, call the confederate council, and begin anew to "make a dead set to have this reciprocal legislation idea upset before proceeding with the discussion."

Galt at length suggested a compromise. His proceedings at Washington were to be treated as unofficial, and no order-in-council passed. Galt and Howland were to be sent to Washington to obtain a treaty if possible, and if not to learn what terms could be arranged, and report to the government.

Brown regarded this motion as intended to remove him from the confederate council, and substitute Mr. Howland, and said so; but he declared that he would accept the compromise nevertheless. It appeared, however, that there had been a misunderstanding as to the recording of a minute of the proceedings. The first minute was withdrawn; but as Mr. Brown considered that the second minute still sanctioned the idea of reciprocal legislation, he refused to sign it, and decided to place his resignation in the hands of the premier, and to wait upon the governor-general. After hearing the explanation, His Excellency said: "Then, Mr. Brown, I am called upon to decide between your policy and that of the other members of the government?" Mr. Brown replied, "Yes, sir, and if I am allowed to give advice in the matter, I should say that the government ought to be sustained, though the decision is against myself. I consider the great question of confederation as of far greater consequence to the country than reciprocity negotiations. My resignation may aid in preventing their policy on the reciprocity question from being carried out, or at least call forth a full expression of opinion on the subject, and the government should be sustained, if wrong in this, for the sake of confederation."

The debate in council had occupied several days, and had evidently aroused strong feelings. Undoubtedly Mr. Brown's decision was affected by the affront that he considered had been put upon him by virtually removing him from the confederate council and sending Mr. Howland instead of himself to Washington as the colleague of Mr. Galt. He disapproved on public grounds of the policy of the government, and he resented the manner in which he had been ignored throughout the transaction. On the day after the rupture Mr. Cartier wrote Mr. Brown asking him whether he could reconsider his resignation. Mr. Brown replied, "I have received your kind note, and think it right to state frankly at once that the step I have taken cannot be revoked. The interests involved are too great. I think a very great blunder has been committed in a matter involving the most important interests of the country, and that the order-in-council you have passed endorses that blunder and authorizes persistence in it. . . . I confess I was much annoyed at the personal affront offered me, but that feeling has passed away in view of the serious character of the matter at issue, which casts all personal feeling aside."

If it were necessary to seek for justification of Mr. Brown's action in leaving the ministry at this time, it might be found either in his disagreement with the government on the question of policy, or in the treatment accorded to him by his colleagues. Sandfield Macdonald and his colleagues had on a former occasion recognized Mr. Brown's eminent fitness to represent Canada in the negotiations at Washington, not only because of his thorough acquaintance with the subject, but because of his steadily maintained attitude of friendship for the North. He was a member of the confederate council on reciprocity. His position in the ministry was not that of a subordinate, but of the representative of a powerful party. In resenting the manner in which his position was ignored, he does not seem to have exceeded the bounds of proper self-assertion. However, this controversy assumes less importance if it is recognized that the rupture was inevitable. The precise time or occasion is of less importance than the force which was always and under all circumstances operating to draw Mr. Brown away from an association injurious to himself and to Liberalism, in its broad sense as well as in its party sense, and to his influence as a public man. This had better be considered in another place.

CHAPTER XX

CONFEDERATION AND THE PARTIES

WE are to consider now the long-vexed question of the connection of Mr. Brown with the coalition of 1864. Ought he to have entered the coalition government? Having entered it, was he justified in leaving it in 1865? Holton and Dorion told him that by his action in 1864, he had sacrificed his own party interests to those of John A. Macdonald; that Macdonald was in serious political difficulty, and had been defeated in the legislature; that he seized upon Brown's suggestion merely as a means of keeping himself in office; that for the sake of office he accepted the idea of confederation, after having voted against it in Brown's committee. A most wise and faithful friend, Alexander Mackenzie, thought that Reformers should accept no representation in the cabinet, but that they should give confederation an outside support. That Macdonald and his party were immensely benefitted by Brown's action, there can be no doubt. For several years they had either been in Opposition, or in office under a most precarious tenure, depending entirely upon a majority from Lower Canada. By Brown's action they were suddenly invested with an overwhelming majority, and they had uninterrupted lease of power for the nine years between the coalition and the Pacific Scandal. Admitting that the interest of the country warranted this sacrifice of the interests of the Liberal party, we have still to consider whether it was wise for Mr. Brown to enter the ministry, and especially to enter it on the conditions that existed. The Lower Canadian Liberals were not represented, partly because Dorion and Holton held back, and partly because of the prejudice of Taché and Cartier against the Rouges; and this exclusion was a serious defect in a ministry supposed to be formed on a broad and patriotic basis. The result was, that while the Liberals were in a majority in the legislature, they had only three representatives in a ministry of twelve. Such a government, with its dominant Conservative section led by a master in the handling of political combinations, was bound to lose its character of a coalition, and become Conservative out and out.

A broader question is involved than that of the mere party advantage obtained by Macdonald and his party in the retention of power and patronage. There was grave danger to the essential principles of Liberalism, of which Brown was the appointed guardian. Holton put this in a remarkable way during the debate on confederation. It was at the time when Macdonald had moved the previous question, when the coalition government was hurrying the debate to a conclusion, in the face of indignant protests and demands that the scheme should be submitted to the people. Holton told Brown that he had destroyed the Liberal party. Henceforth its members would be known as those who once ranged themselves together, in Upper and Lower Canada, under the Liberal banner. Then followed this remarkable appeal to his old friend: "Most of us remember—those of us who have been for a few years in public life in this country must remember—a very striking speech delivered by the honourable member for South Oxford in Toronto in the session of 1856 or 1857, in which he described the path of the attorney-general [Macdonald] as studded all along by the gravestones of his slaughtered colleagues. Well, there are not wanting those who think they can descry, in the not very remote distance, a yawning grave waiting for the noblest victim of them all. And I very much fear that unless the honourable gentleman has the courage to assert his own original strength—and he has great strength—and to discard the blandishments and the sweets of office, and to plant himself where he stood formerly, in the affections and confidence of the people of this country, as the foremost defender of the rights of the people, as the foremost champion of the privileges of a free parliament—unless he hastens to do that, I very much fear that he too may fall a victim, the noblest victim of them all, to the arts, if not the arms of the fell destroyer."

There was a little humorous exaggeration in the personal references to Macdonald, for Holton and he were on friendly terms. But there was also matter for serious thought in his words. Though Macdonald had outgrown the fossil Toryism that opposed responsible government, he was essentially Conservative; and there was something not democratic in his habit of dealing with individuals rather than with people in the mass, and of accomplishing his ends by private letters and interviews, and by other forms of personal influence, rather than by the public advocacy of causes. Association with him was injurious to men of essentially Liberal and democratic tendencies, and subordination was fatal, if not to their usefulness, at least to their Liberal ideals. Macdougall and Howland remained in the ministry until confederation was achieved, and found reasons for remaining there afterwards. At the Reform convention of 1867, when the relation of the Liberal party to the so-called coalition was considered, they defended their position with skill and force, but the association of one with Macdonald was very brief, and of the other very unhappy. Mr. Howland was not a very keen politician, and a year after confederation was accomplished he accepted the position of lieutenant-governor of Ontario. Mr. Macdougall had an unsatisfactory career as a minister, with an unhappy termination. He was clearly out of his element. Mr. Tilley was described as a Liberal, but there was nothing to distinguish him from his Conservative colleagues in his methods or his utterances, and he became the champion of the essentially Conservative policy of protection.

But the most notable example of the truth of Holton's words and the soundness of his advice was Joseph Howe. Howe was in Nova Scotia "the foremost defender of the rights of people, the foremost champion of the privileges of free parliaments." He had opposed the inclusion of Nova Scotia on the solid ground that it was accomplished by arbitrary means. At length he bowed to the inevitable. In ceasing to encourage a useless and dangerous agitation he stood on patriotic ground. But in an evil hour he was persuaded to seal his submission by joining the Macdonald government, and thenceforth his influence was at an end. His biographer says that Howe's four years in Sir John Macdonald's cabinet are the least glorious of his whole career. "Howe had been accustomed all his life to lead and control events. He found himself a member of a government of which Sir John Macdonald was the supreme head, and of a cast of mind totally different from his own. Sir John Macdonald was a shrewd political manager, an opportunist whose unfailing judgment led him unerringly to pursue the course most likely to succeed each hour, each day, each year. Howe had the genius of a bold Reformer, a courageous and creative type of mind, who thought in continents, dreamed dreams and conceived great ideas. Sir John Macdonald busied himself with what concerned the immediate interests of the hour in which he was then living, and yet Sir John Macdonald was a leader who permitted no insubordination. Sir Georges Cartier, a man not to be named in the same breath with Howe as a statesman, was, nevertheless, a thousand times of more moment and concern with his band of Bleu followers in the House of Commons, than a dozen Howes, and the consequence is that we find for four years the great old man playing second fiddle to his inferiors, and cutting a far from heroic figure in the arena."[1] What Holton said by way of warning to Brown was realized in the case of Howe. He was "the noblest victim of them all."

From the point of view of Liberalism and of his influence as a public man, Brown did not leave the ministry a moment too soon; and there is much to be said in favour of Mackenzie's view that he ought to have refused to enter the coalition at all, and confined himself to giving his general support to confederation. By this means he would not have been responsible for the methods by which the new constitution was brought into effect, methods that were in many respects repugnant to those essential principles of Liberalism of which Brown had been one of the foremost champions. At almost every stage in the proceedings there was a violation of those rights of self-government which had been so hardly won by Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The Quebec conference was a meeting of persons whose authority, so far as it was derived from the people, was to govern the provinces under their established constitutions, not to make a new constitution. Its deliberations were secret. It proceeded, without a mandate from the people, to create a new governing body, whose powers were obtained at the expense of those of the provinces. With the same lack of popular authority, it declared that the provinces should have only those powers which were expressly designated, and that the reserve of power should be in the central governing body. Had this body been created for the Canadas alone, this proceeding might have been justified, for they were already joined in a legislative union, though by practice and consent some features of federalism prevailed. But Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were separate, self-governing communities, and it was for them, not for the Quebec conference, to say what powers they would grant and what powers they would retain. Again the people of Canada had declared that the second chamber should be elected, not appointed by the Crown. The Quebec conference, without consulting the people of Canada, reverted to the discarded system of nomination, and added the senate to the vast body of patronage at the disposal of the federal government. The constitution adopted by this body was not, except in the case of New Brunswick, submitted to the people, and it can hardly be said that it was freely debated in the parliament of Canada, for it was declared that it was in the nature of a treaty, and must be accepted or rejected as a whole. In the midst of this debate the people of New Brunswick passed upon the scheme in a general election, and condemned it in the most decisive and explicit way. The British government was then induced to bring pressure to bear upon the province; and while it was contended that this pressure was only in the form of friendly advice it was otherwise interpreted by the governor, who strained his powers to compel the ministry to act in direct contravention of its mandate from the people, and when it resisted, forced it out of office. It is true that in a subsequent election this decision was reversed; but that is not a justification for the means adopted to bring about this result. It is no exaggeration to say that Nova Scotia was forced into the union against the express desire of a large majority of its people. There are arguments by which these proceedings may be defended, but they are not arguments that lie in the mouth of a Liberal. And if we say that the confederation, in spite of these taints in its origin, has worked well and has solved the difficulties of Canada, we use an argument which might justify the forcible annexation of a country by a powerful neighbour.

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[1] Longley's *Joseph Howe*, "Makers of Canada" series, pp. 228, 229.

Again, there was much force in Dorion's contention that the new constitution was an illiberal constitution, increasing those powers of the executive which were already too large. To the inordinate strength of the executive, under the delusive name of the Crown, may be traced many of the worst evils of Canadian politics: the abuse of the prerogative of dissolution, the delay in holding bye-elections, the gerrymandering of the constituencies by a parliament registering the decree of a government. To these powers of the government the Confederation Act added that of filling one branch of the legislature with its own nominees. By the power of disallowance, by the equivocal language used in regard to education, and in regard to the creation of new provinces, pretexts were furnished for federal interference in local affairs. But for the resolute opposition of Mowat and his colleagues, the subordination of the provinces to the central authority would have gone very far towards realizing Macdonald's ideal of a legislative union; and recent events have shown that the danger of centralization is by no means at an end.

It was a true, liberal and patriotic impulse that induced Brown to offer his aid in breaking the dead-lock of 1864. He desired that Upper Canada should be fairly represented in parliament, and should have freedom to manage its local affairs. He desired that the Maritime Provinces and the North-West should, in the course of time, be brought in on similar terms of freedom. But by joining the coalition he became a participant in a different course of procedure; and if we give him a large, perhaps the largest share, of the credit for the ultimate benefits of confederation, we cannot divest him of responsibility for the methods by which it was brought about, so long, at least, as he remained a member of the government.

In the year and a half that elapsed between his withdrawal from the government and the first general election under the new constitution, he had a somewhat difficult part to play. He had to aid in the work of carrying confederation, and at the same time to aid in the work of re-organizing the Liberal party, which had been temporarily divided and weakened by the new issue introduced into politics. In the Reform convention of 1867 the attitude of the party towards confederation was considered. It was resolved that "while the new constitution contained obvious defects, it was, on the whole, based upon equitable principles and should be accepted with the determination to work it loyally and patiently, and to provide such amendments as experience from year to year may prove to be expedient." It was declared that coalitions of opposing political parties for ordinary administrative purposes resulted in corruption, extravagance and the abandonment of principle; that the coalition of 1864 could be justified only on the ground of imperious necessity, as the only available means of obtaining just representation for Upper Canada, and should come to an end when that object was attained; and that the temporary alliance of the Reform and Conservative parties should cease. Howland and Macdougall, who had decided to remain in the ministry, strove to maintain that it was a true coalition, and that the old issues that divided the parties were at an end; and their bearing before a hostile audience was tactful and courageous. But Brown and his friends carried all before them.

Brown argued strongly against the proposal to turn the coalition formed for confederation into a coalition for ordinary administrative purposes; and in a passage of unusual fervour he asked whether his Reform friends were to be subjected to the humiliation of following in the train of John A. Macdonald,

It is difficult to understand how so chimerical a notion as a non-party government led by Macdonald could have been entertained by practical politicians. A permanent position in a Macdonald ministry would have been out of the question for Brown, not only because of his standing as a public man, but because of his control of the *Globe*, which under such an arrangement would have been reduced to the position of an organ of the Conservative government. There were also all the elements of a powerful Liberal party, which soon after confederation rallied its forces and overthrew Sir John

Macdonald's government at Ottawa, and the coalition government he had established at Toronto. Giving Macdougall every credit for good intentions, it must be admitted that he committed an error in casting in his political fortunes with Sir John Macdonald, and that both he and Joseph Howe would have found more freedom, more scope for their energies and a wider field of usefulness, in fighting by the side of Mackenzie and Blake.

CHAPTER XXI

CANADA AND THE GREAT WEST

VERY soon after his arrival in Canada, Mr. Brown became deeply interested in the North-West Territories. He was thrown into contact with men who knew the value of the country and desired to see it opened for settlement. One of these was Robert Baldwin Sullivan, who, during the struggle for responsible government, wrote a series of brilliant letters over the signature of "Legion" advocating that principle, and who was for a time provincial secretary in the Baldwin-Lafontaine government. In 1847, Mr. Sullivan delivered, in the Mechanics' Institute, Toronto, an address on the North-West Territories, which was published in full in the *Globe*. The Oregon settlement had recently been made, and the great westward trek of the Americans was in progress. Sullivan uttered the warning that the Americans would occupy and become masters of the British western territory, and outflank Canada, unless steps were taken to settle and develop it by British subjects. There was at this time much misconception of the character of the country, and one is surprised by the very accurate knowledge shown by Mr. Sullivan in regard to the resources of the country, its coal measures as well as its wheat fields.

Mr. Brown also obtained much information and assistance from Mr. Isbester, a "native of the country, who by his energy, ability and intelligence had raised himself from the position of a successful scholar at one of the schools of the settlement to that of a graduate of one of the British universities, and to a teacher of considerable rank. This gentleman had succeeded in inducing prominent members of the House of Commons to interest themselves in the subject of appeals which, through him, were constantly being made against the injustice and persecution which the colonists of the Red River Settlement were suffering."[1]

Mr. Brown said that his attention was first drawn to the subject by a deputation sent to England by the people of the Red River Settlement to complain that the country was ill-governed by the Hudson's Bay Company, and to pray that the territory might be thrown open for settlement. "The movement," said Mr. Brown, "was well received by the most prominent statesmen of Britain. The absurdity of so vast a country remaining in the hands of a trading company was readily admitted; and I well remember that Mr. Gladstone then made an excellent speech in the Commons, as he has recently done, admitting that the charter of the company was not valid, and that the matter should be dealt with by legislation. But the difficulty that constantly presented itself was what should be done with the territory were the charter broken up; what government should replace that of the company. The idea struck Mr. Isbester, a most able and enlightened member of the Red River deputation to London, that this difficulty would be met at once were Canada to step in and claim the right to the territory. Through a mutual friend, I was communicated with on the subject, and agreed to have the question thoroughly agitated before the expiry of the company's charter in 1859. I have since given the subject some study, and have on various occasions brought it before the public." Mr. Brown referred to the matter in his maiden speech in parliament in 1851, and in 1854 and again in 1856 he gave notice of motion for a committee of inquiry, but was interrupted by other business. In 1852, the *Globe* contained an article so remarkable in its knowledge of the country that it may be reproduced here in part.

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[1] Gunn and Tuttle's *History of Manitoba*, p. 303.

"It is a remarkable circumstance that so little attention has been paid in Canada to the immense tract of country lying to the north of our boundary line, and known as the Hudson's Bay Company's Territory. There can be no question that the injurious and demoralizing sway of that company over a region of four millions of square miles, will, ere long, be brought to an end, and that the destinies of this immense country will be united with our own. It is unpardonable that civilization should be excluded from half a continent, on at best but a doubtful right of ownership, for the benefit of two hundred and thirty-two shareholders.

"Our present purpose is not, however, with the validity of the Hudson's Bay Company's claim to the country north of the Canadian line—but to call attention to the value of that region, and the vast commercial importance to the country and especially to this section, which must, ere long, attach to it. The too general impression entertained is, that the territory in question is a frozen wilderness, incapable of cultivation and utterly unfit for colonization. This impression was undoubtedly set afloat, and has been maintained, for its own very evident purposes. So long as that opinion could be kept up, their charter was not likely to be disturbed. But light has been breaking in on the subject in spite of their efforts to keep it out. In a recent work by Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, it is stated that 'there is not a more favourable situation on the face of the earth for the employment of agricultural industry than the locality of the Red River.' Mr. Fitzgerald asserts that there are five hundred thousand square miles of soil, a great part of which is favourable for settlement and agriculture, and all so well supplied with game as to give great facility for colonization. Here is a field for Canadian enterprise.

"The distance between Fort William and the Red River Settlement is about five hundred miles, and there is said to be water communication by river and lake all the way. But westward, beyond the

Red River Settlement, there is said to be a magnificent country, through which the Saskatchewan River extends, and is navigable for boats and canoes through a course of one thousand four hundred miles.

"Much has been said of the extreme cold of the country, as indicated by the thermometer. It is well known, however, that it is not the degree but the character of the cold which renders it obnoxious to men, and the climate of this country is quite as agreeable, if not more so, than the best part of Canada. The height of the latitude gives no clue whatever to the degree of cold or to the nature of the climate.

"Let any one look at the map, and if he can fancy the tenth part that is affirmed of the wide region of country stretching westward to the Rocky Mountains, he may form some idea of the profitable commerce which will soon pass through Lake Superior. Independent of the hope that the high road to the Pacific may yet take this direction, there is a field for enterprise presented, sufficient to satiate the warmest imagination."

It was not, however, until the year 1856 that public attention was aroused to the importance of the subject. In the autumn of that year there was a series of letters in the *Globe* signed "Huron," drawing attention to the importance of the western country, attacking the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company, and suggesting that the inhabitants, unless relieved, might seek to place the country under American government. In December 1856, there was a meeting of the Toronto Board of Trade at which addresses were delivered by Alan McDonnell and Captain Kennedy. Captain Kennedy said that he had lived for a quarter of a century in the territory in question, had eight or nine years before the meeting endeavoured to call attention to the country through the newspapers and had written a letter to Lord Elgin. He declared that the most important work before Canada was the settlement of two hundred and seventy-nine million acres of land lying west of the Lakes. The Board of Trade passed a resolution declaring that the claim of the Hudson's Bay Company to the exclusive right to trade in the country was injurious to the rights of the people of the territory and of British North America. The Board also petitioned the legislature to ascertain the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to protect the interests of Canada. A few days afterwards the *Globe* said that the time had come to act, and thenceforward it carried on a vigorous campaign for the opening up of the territory to settlement and the establishment of communication with Canada.

During the year 1856, Mr. Brown addressed many meetings on the subject of the working of the union. He opposed the separation of the Canadas, proposed by some as a measure of relief for the grievances of Upper Canada. This would bring

Canada back to the day of small things; he advocated expansion to the westward. William Macdougall, then a member of the *Globe* staff, was also an enthusiastic advocate of the union of the North-West Territories with Canada. In an article reviewing the events of the year 1856, the *Globe* said: "This year will be remembered as that in which the public mind was first aroused to the necessity of uniting to Canada the great tract of British American territory lying to the north-west, then in the occupation of a great trading monopoly. The year 1856 has only seen the birth of this movement. Let us hope that 1857 will see it crowned with success."

In January 1857, a convention of Reformers in Toronto adopted a platform including free trade, uniform legislation for both provinces, representation by population, national and non-sectarian education, and the incorporation of the Hudson Bay Territory. It was resolved "that the country known as the Hudson Bay Territory ought no longer to be cut off from civilization, that it is the duty of the legislature and executive of Canada to open negotiations with the imperial government for the incorporation of the said territory as Canadian soil."

The *Globe's* proposals at this early date provoked the merriment of some of its contemporaries. The Niagara *Mail*, January 1857, said: "The Toronto *Globe* comes out with a new and remarkable platform, one of the planks of which is the annexation of the frozen regions of the Hudson Bay Territory to Canada. Lord have mercy on us! Canada has already a stiff reputation for cold in the world, but it is unfeeling in the *Globe* to want to make it deserve the reproach." The *Globe* advised its contemporary not to commit itself hastily against the annexation of the North-West, "for it will assuredly be one of the strongest planks in our platform."

Another sceptic was the Montreal *Transcript*, which declared that the fertile spots in the territory were small and separated by immense distances, and described the Red River region as an oasis in the midst of a desert, "a vast treeless prairie on which scarcely a shrub is to be seen." The climate was unfavourable to the growth of grain. The summer, though warm enough, was too short in duration, so that even the few fertile spots could "with difficulty mature a small potato or cabbage." The subject seemed to be constantly in Brown's mind, and he referred to it frequently in public addresses. After the general election of 1857-8 a banquet was given at Belleville to celebrate the return of Mr. Wallbridge for Hastings. Mr. Brown there referred to a proposal to dissolve the union. He was for giving the union a fair trial. "Who can look at the map of this continent and mark the vast portion of it acknowledging British sovereignty, without feeling that union and not separation ought to be the foremost principle with British American statesmen? Who that examines the condition of the several provinces which constitute British America, can fail to feel that with the people of Canada must mainly rest the noble task, at no distant date, of consolidating these provinces, aye, and of redeeming to civilization and peopling with new life the vast territories to our north, now so unworthily held by the Hudson's Bay Company. Who cannot see that Providence has entrusted to us the building up of a great northern people, fit to cope with our neighbours of the United States, and to advance step by step with them in the march of civilization? Sir, it is my fervent aspiration and belief that some here to-night may live to see the day when the British American flag shall proudly wave from Labrador to Vancouver Island and from our own Niagara to the shores of Hudson Bay. Look abroad over the world and tell me what country possesses the advantages, if she but uses them aright, for achieving such a future, as Canada enjoys—a fertile soil, a healthful climate, a hardy and frugal people, with great mineral resources, noble rivers, boundless forests. We have within our grasp all the elements of prosperity. We are free from the thousand time-honoured evils and abuses that afflict and retard the nations of the Old World. Not even our neighbours of the United States occupy an equal position of advantage, for we have not the canker-worm of domestic slavery to blight our tree of liberty. And greater than these, we are but commencing our career as a people, our institutions have yet to be established. We are free to look abroad over the earth and study the lessons of wisdom taught by the history of older countries, and choose those systems and those laws and customs that experience has shown best for advancing the moral and material interests of the human family."[1]

As a member of the coalition of 1864, Brown had an opportunity to promote his long-cherished object of adding the North-West Territories to Canada. There had been some communication between the British and Canadian governments, and in November 1864, the latter government said that Canada was anxious to secure the settlement of the West and the establishment of local governments. As the Hudson's Bay Company worked under an English charter, it was for that government to extinguish its rights and give Canada a clear title. Canada would then annex, govern and open up communication with the territory. When Brown accompanied Macdonald, Cartier and Galt to England in 1865, this matter was taken up, and an agreement was arrived at which was reported to the Canadian legislature in the second session of 1865. The committee said that calling to mind the vital importance to Canada of having that great and fertile country open to Canadian enterprise and the tide of emigration into it directed through Canadian channels, remembering the danger of large grants of land passing into the hands of mere money corporations, and the risk that the recent discoveries of gold on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains might throw into the country large masses of settlers unaccustomed to British institutions, they arrived at the conclusion that the quickest solution of the question would be the best for Canada. They therefore proposed that the whole territory east of the Rockies and north of the American or Canadian line should be made over to Canada, subject to the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company; and that the compensation to be made by Canada to the company should be met by a loan guaranteed by the British government. To this, the imperial government consented.

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[1] Toronto *Globe*, January 25th, 1858.

The subsequent history of the acquisition of the West need not be told here. In this case, as in others, Brown was a pioneer in a work which others finished. But his services were generously acknowledged by Sir John Macdonald, who said in the House of Commons in 1875: "From the first time that he had entered parliament, the people of Canada looked forward to a western extension of territory, and from the time he was first a minister, in 1854, the question was brought up time and again, and pressed with great ability and force by the Hon. George Brown, who was then a prominent man in opposition to the government."

CHAPTER XXII

THE RECIPROCITY TREATY OF 1874

MR. BROWN'S position in regard to reciprocity has already been described. He set a high value upon the American market for Canadian products, and as early as 1863 he had urged the government of that day to prepare for the renewal of the treaty. He resigned from the coalition ministry, because, to use his own words, "I felt very strongly that though we in Canada derived great advantage from the treaty of 1854, the American people derived still greater advantage from it. I had no objection to that, and was quite ready to renew the old treaty, or even to extend it largely on fair terms of reciprocity. But I was not willing to ask for a renewal as a favour to Canada; I was not willing to offer special inducements for renewal without fair concessions in return ; I was not willing that the canals and inland waters of Canada should be made the joint property of the United States and Canada and be maintained at their joint expense ; I was not willing that the custom and excise duty of Canada should be assimilated to the prohibitory rates of the United States; and very especially was I unwilling that any such arrangement should be entered into with the United States, dependent on the frail tenure of reciprocal legislation, repealable at any moment at the caprice of either party." Unless a fair treaty for a definite term of years could be obtained, he thought it better that each country should take its own course and that Canada should seek new channels of trade.

The negotiations of 1866 failed, mainly because under the American offer, "the most important provisions of the expiring treaty, relating to the free interchange of the products of the two countries, were entirely set aside, and the duties proposed to be levied were almost prohibitory in their character." The free-list offered by the United States reads like a diplomatic joke: "burr-millstones, rags, firewood, grindstones, plaster and gypsum." The real bar in this and subsequent negotiations, was the unwillingness of the Americans to enter into any kind of arrangement for extended trade. They did not want to break in upon their system of protection, and they did not set a high value on access to the Canadian market. In most of the negotiations, the Americans are found trying to drive the best possible bargain in regard to the Canadian fisheries and canals, and fighting shy of reciprocity in trade. They considered that a free exchange of natural products would be far more beneficial to Canada than to the United States. As time went on, they began to perceive the advantages of the Canadian market for American manufactures. But when this was apparent, Canadian feeling, which had hitherto been unanimous for reciprocity, began to show a cleavage, which was sharply defined in the discussion preceding the election of 1891. Reciprocity in manufactures was opposed, because of the competition to which it would expose Canadian industries, and because it was difficult to arrange it without assimilating the duties of the two countries and discriminating against British imports into Canada.

In earlier years, however, even the inclusion of manufactures in the treaty of reciprocity was an inducement by which the Americans set little store. The rejected offer made by Canada in 1869, about the exact terms of which doubt exists, included a list of manufactures. In 1871 the American government declined to consider an offer to renew the treaty of 1854 in return for access to the deep sea fisheries of Canada. The Brown Treaty of 1874, which contained a list of manufactures, was rejected at Washington, while in Canada it was criticized as striking a blow at the infant manufactures of the country.

The Brown mission of 1874 was a direct result of the Treaty of Washington. Under that treaty there was to be an arbitration to determine the value of the American use of the Canadian inshore fisheries for twelve years, in excess of the value of the concessions made by the United States. Before the fall of the Macdonald government, Mr. Rothery, registrar of the High Court of Admiralty in England, arrived in Canada as the agent of the British government to prepare the Canadian case for arbitration. In passing through Toronto Mr. Rothery spoke to several public men with a view to acquiring information as to the value of the fisheries. Mr. Brown availed himself of that opportunity to suggest to him that a treaty of reciprocity in trade would be a far better compensation to Canada than a cash payment. Mr. Rothery carried this proposal to Washington, where it was received with some favour.

Meantime the Mackenzie government had been moving in the matter, and in February 1874, Mr. Brown was informed that there was a movement at Washington for the renewal of the old reciprocity treaty, and was asked to make an unofficial visit to that city and estimate the chances of success. On February 12th, he wrote: "We know as yet of but few men who are bitterly against us. I saw General Butler, at his request, on the subject, and I understand he will support us. Charles Sumner is heart and hand with us, and is most kind to me personally." On February 14th, he expressed his belief that if a bill for the renewal of the reciprocity treaty could be submitted to congress at once, it would be carried.

A British commission was issued on March 17th, 1874, appointing Sir Edward Thornton, British minister at Washington, and Mr. Brown, as joint plenipotentiaries to negotiate a treaty of fisheries, commerce and navigation with the government of the United States. This mode of representation was insisted upon by the Mackenzie government, in view of the unsatisfactory result of the negotiations of 1871, when Sir John A. Macdonald, as one commissioner out of six, made a gallant but unsuccessful fight for the rights of Canada. Mr. Brown was selected, not only because of his knowledge of and interest in reciprocity, but because of his attitude during the war, which had made him many warm friends among those who opposed slavery and stood for the union.

Negotiations were formally opened on March 28th. The Canadians proposed the renewal of the old reciprocity treaty, and the abandonment of the fishery arbitration. The American secretary of state, Mr. Fish, suggested the enlargement of the Canadian canals, and the addition of manufactures to the free list. The Canadian commissioners having agreed to consider these proposals, a project of a treaty was prepared to form a basis of discussion. It provided for the renewal of the old reciprocity treaty for twenty-one years, with the addition of certain manufactures; the abandonment of the fishery arbitration; complete reciprocity in coasting; the enlargement of the Welland and St. Lawrence canals; the opening of the Canadian, New York, and Michigan canals to vessels of both countries; the free navigation of Lake Michigan; the appointment of a joint commission for improving waterways, protecting fisheries and erecting lighthouses on the Great

Lakes. Had the treaty been ratified, there would have been reciprocity in farm and other natural products, and in a very important list of manufactures, including agricultural implements, axles, iron, in the forms of bar, hoop, pig, puddled, rod, sheet or scrap; iron nails, spikes, bolts, tacks, brads and springs; iron castings; locomotives and railroad cars and trucks; engines and machinery for mills, factories and steamboats; fire-engines; wrought and cast steel; steel plates and rails; carriages, carts, wagons and sleighs; leather and its manufactures, boots, shoes, harness and saddlery; cotton grain bags, denims, jeans, drillings, plaids and ticking; woollen tweeds; cabinet ware and furniture, and machines made of wood; printing paper for newspapers, paper-making machines, type, presses, folders, paper cutters, ruling machines, stereotyping and electrotyping apparatus. In general terms, it was as near to unrestricted reciprocity as was possible without raising the question of discriminating against the products of Great Britain.

Mr. Brown found that American misapprehensions as to Canada, its revenue, commerce, shipping, railways and industries were "truly marvellous." It was generally believed that the trade of Canada was of little value to the United States; that the reciprocity treaty had enriched Canada at their expense; and that the abolition of the treaty had brought Canada nearly to its wits' end. There was some excuse for these misapprehensions. Until confederation, the trade returns from the different provinces were published separately, if at all. No clear statement of the combined traffic of the provinces with the United States was published until 1874, and even Canadians were ignorant of its extent. American protectionists founded a "balance of trade" argument on insufficient data. They saw that old Canada sold large quantities of wheat and flour to the United States, but not that the United States sent larger quantities to the Maritime Provinces; that Nova Scotia and Cape Breton sold coal to Boston and New York, but not that five times as much was sent from Pennsylvania to Canada. Brown prepared a memorandum showing that the British North American provinces, from 1820 to 1854, had bought one hundred and sixty-seven million dollars worth of goods from the United States, and the United States only sixty-seven million dollars worth from the provinces; that in the thirteen years of the treaty, the trade between the two countries was six hundred and thirty million dollars according to the Canadian returns, and six hundred and seventy million dollars according to the American returns; and that the so-called "balance of trade" in this period was considerably against Canada. It was shown that the repeal of the treaty did not ruin Canadian commerce; that the external trade of Canada which averaged one hundred and fifteen million dollars a year from 1854 to 1862, rose to one hundred and forty-two million dollars in the year following the abrogation, and to two hundred and forty million dollars in 1873. In regard to wheat, flour, provisions, and other commodities of which both countries had a surplus, the effect of the prohibitory American duties had been to send the products of Canada to compete with those of the United States in neutral markets.

This memorandum was completed on April 27th and was immediately handed to Mr. Fish. It was referred to the treasury department, where it was closely examined and admitted to be correct. From that time there was a marked improvement in American feeling.

Brown also carried on a vigorous propaganda in the newspapers. In New York the *Tribune*, *Herald*, *Times*, *World*, *Evening Post*, *Express*, *Journal of Commerce*, *Graphic*, *Mail*, and other journals, declared in favour of a new treaty; and in Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati and other large cities, the press was equally favourable. A charge originated in Philadelphia and was circulated in the United States and Canada, that this unanimity of the press was obtained by the corrupt use of public money. Mr. Brown, in his speech in the senate of Canada denied this; said that not a shilling had been spent illegitimately, and that the whole cost of the negotiation to the people of Canada would be little more than four thousand dollars.

In his correspondence Brown speaks of meeting Senator Conkling, General Garfield and Carl Schurz, all of whom were favourable. Secretary Fish is described as courteous and painstaking, but timid and lacking in grasp of the subject, and Brown speaks impatiently of the delays that are throwing the consideration of the draft treaty over to the end of the session of congress.

It did not reach the senate until two days before adjournment. "The president" wrote Mr. Brown on June 20th, "sent a message to the senate with the treaty, urging a decision before the adjournment of congress. I thought the message very good; but it has the defect of not speaking definitely of this message as his own and his government's and calling on the senate to sustain him. Had he done this, the treaty would have been through now. But now, with a majority in its favour, there seems some considerable danger of its being thrown over until December." The treaty was sent to the Foreign Relations Committee of the senate. "There were six present; three said to be for us, one against, and two for the measure personally, but wanted to hear from the country before acting. How it will end, no one can tell." As a matter of fact it ended there and then, as far as the United States were concerned.

Of the objections urged against the treaty in Canada, the most significant was that directed against the free list of manufactures. This was, perhaps, the first evidence of the wave of protectionist sentiment that overwhelmed the Mackenzie government. In his speech in the senate, in 1875, justifying the treaty, Mr. Brown said: "Time was in Canada when the imposition of duty on any article was regarded as a misfortune, and the slightest addition to an existing duty was resented by the people. But increasing debt brought new burdens; the deceptive cry of 'incidental protection' got a footing in the land; and from that the step has been easy to the bold demand now set up by a few favoured industries, that all the rest of the community ought to be, and should rejoice to be, taxed seventeen and a half per cent. to keep them in existence."

Brown joined issue squarely with the protectionists. "I contend that there is not one article contained in the schedules that ought not to be wholly free of duty, either in Canada or the United States, in the interest of the public. I contend that the finance minister of Canada who—treaty or no treaty with the United States—was able to announce the repeal of all customs duties on the entire list of articles in Schedules A, B, and C,—even though the lost revenue was but shifted to articles of luxury, would carry with him the hearty gratitude of the country. Nearly every article in the whole list of manufactures is either of daily consumption and necessity among all classes of our population, or an implement of trade, or enters largely into the economical prosecution of the main industries of the Dominion." The criticism of the sliding scale, of which so much was heard at the time, was only another phase of the protectionist objection. The charge that the treaty would discriminate in favour of American against British imports was easily disposed of. Brown showed that every article admitted free from the United States would be admitted free from Great Britain. But as this meant British as well as American competition, it made the case worse from the protectionist point of view. The rejection of the treaty by the United States left a clear field for the protectionists in Canada.

Four years after Mr. Brown's speech defending the treaty, he made his last important speech in the senate, and almost the last public utterance of his life, attacking Tilley's protectionist budget, and nailing his free-trade colours to the mast.

CHAPTER XXIII

CANADIAN NATIONALISM

IT will be remembered that after the victory won by the Reformers in 1848, there was an outbreak of radical sentiment, represented by the Clear Grits in Upper Canada and by the Rouges in Lower Canada. It may be more than a coincidence that there was a similar stirring of the blood in Ontario and in Quebec after the Liberal victory of 1874. The founding of the *Liberal* and of the *Nation*, of the National Club and of the Canada First Association, Mr. Blake's speech at Aurora, and Mr. Goldwin Smith's utterances combined to mark this period as one of extraordinary intellectual activity. Orthodox Liberalism was disquieted by these movements. It had won a great, and as was then believed, a permanent victory over Macdonald and all that he represented, and it had no sympathy with a disturbing force likely to break up party lines, and to lead young men into new and unknown paths.

The platform of Canada First was not in itself revolutionary. It embraced, (1) British connection; (2) closer trade relations with the British West India Islands, with a view to ultimate political connection; (3) an income franchise; (4) the ballot, with the addition of compulsory voting; (5) a scheme for the representation of minorities; (6) encouragement of immigration and free homesteads in the public domain; (7) the imposition of duties for revenue so adjusted as to afford every possible encouragement to native industry; (8) an improved militia system under command of trained Dominion officers; (9) no property qualifications in members of the House of Commons; (10) reorganization of the senate; (11) pure and economic administration of public affairs. This programme was severely criticized by the *Globe*. Some of the articles, such as purity and economy, were scornfully treated as commonplaces of politics. "Yea, and who knoweth not such things as these." The framers of the platform were rebuked for their presumption in setting themselves above the old parties, and were advised to "tarry in Jericho until their beards be grown."

But the letter of the programme did not evince the spirit of Canada First, which was more clearly set forth in the prospectus of the *Nation*. There it was said that the one thing needful was the cultivation of a national spirit. The country required the stimulus of patriotism. Old prejudices of English, Scottish, Irish and German people were crystallized. Canadians must assert their nationality, their position as members of a nation. These and other declarations were analyzed by the *Globe*, and the heralds of the new gospel were pressed for a plainer avowal of their intentions. Throughout the editorial utterances of the *Globe* there was shown a growing suspicion that the ulterior aim of the Canada First movement was to bring about the independence of Canada. The quarrel came to a head when Mr. Goldwin Smith was elected president of the National Club. The *Globe*, in its issue of October 27th, 1874, brought its heaviest artillery to bear on the members of the Canada First party. It accused them of lack of courage and frankness. When brought to book as to their principles, it said, they repudiated everything. They repudiated nativism; they repudiated independence; they abhorred the very idea of annexation. The movement was without meaning when judged by these repudiations, but was very significant and involved grave practical issues when judged by the practices of its members. They had talked loudly and foolishly of emancipation from political thraldom, as if the present connection of Canada with Great Britain were a yoke and a burden too heavy and too galling to be borne. They had adopted the plank of British connection by a majority of only four. They had chosen as their standard-bearer, their prophet and their president, one whose chief claim to prominence lay in the persistency with which he had advocated the breaking up of the British empire. Mr. Goldwin Smith had come into a peaceful community to do his best for the furtherance of a cause which meant simply revolution. The advocacy of independence, said the *Globe*, could not be treated as an academic question. It touched every Canadian in his dearest and most important relations. It jeopardized his material, social and religious interests. Canada was not a mere dead limb of the British tree, ready to fall of its own weight. The union was real, and the branch was a living one. Great Britain, it was true, would not fight to hold Canada against her will, but if the great mass of Canadians believed in British connection, those who wished to break the bond must be ready to take their lives in their hands. The very proposal to cut loose from Britain would be only the beginning of trouble. In any case what was sought was revolution, and those who preached it ought to contemplate all the possibilities of such a course. They might be the fathers and founders of a new nationality, but they might also be simply mischief-makers, whose insignificance and powerlessness were their sole protection, who were not important enough for "either a traitor's trial or a traitor's doom."

Mr. Goldwin Smith's reply to this attack was that he was an advocate, not of revolution but of evolution. "Gradual emancipation," he said, "means nothing more than the gradual concession by the mother country to the colonies of powers of self-government; this process has already been carried far. Should it be carried further and ultimately consummated, as I frankly avow my belief it must, the mode of proceeding will be the same that it has always been. Each step will be an Act of parliament passed with the assent of the Crown. As to the filial tie between England and Canada, I hope it will endure forever."

Mr. Goldwin Smith's views were held by some other members of the Canada First party. Another and a larger section were Imperialists, who believed that Canada should assert herself by demanding a larger share of self-government within the empire, and by demanding the privileges and responsibilities of citizens of the empire. The bond that united the Imperialists and the advocates of independence was national spirit. This was what the *Globe* failed to perceive, or at least to recognize fully. Its article of October 27th is powerful and logical, strong in sarcasm and invective. It displays every purely intellectual quality necessary for the treatment of the subject, but lacks the insight that comes from imagination and sympathy. The declarations of those whose motto was "Canada first," could fairly be criticized as vague, but this vagueness was the result, not of cowardice or insincerity, but of the inherent difficulty of putting the spirit of the movement into words. A youth whose heart is stirred by all the aspirations of coming manhood, "yearning for the large excitement that the coming years would yield," might have the same hesitation in writing down his yearnings and aspirations on a sheet of paper, and might be as unwisely snubbed by his elders.

The greatest intellect of the Liberal party felt the impulse. At Aurora Edward Blake startled the more cautious members of the party by advocating the federation of the empire, the reorganization of the senate, compulsory voting, extension of the franchise and representation of minorities. His real theme was national spirit. National spirit would be lacking until we undertook national responsibilities. He described the Canadian people as "four millions of Britons who are not free." By the policy of England, in which we had no voice or control, Canada might be plunged into the horrors of war. Recently, without our consent, the navigation of the St. Lawrence had been ceded forever to the United States. We could not complain of these things unless we were prepared to assume the full responsibilities of citizenship within the empire. The young men of Canada heard these words with a thrill of enthusiasm, but the note was not struck again. The movement apparently ceased, and politics apparently flowed back into their old channels. But while the name, the organization and the organs of Canada First in the press disappeared, the force and spirit remained, and exercised a powerful influence upon Canadian politics for many years.

There can be little doubt that the Liberal party was injured by the uncompromising hostility which was shown to the movement of 1874. Young men, enthusiasts, bold and original thinkers, began to look upon Liberalism as a creed harsh, dry, tyrannical, unprogressive and hostile to new ideas. When the independent lodgment afforded by Canada First disappeared, many of them drifted over to the Conservative party, whose leader was shrewd enough to perceive the strength of the spirit of nationalism, and to give it what countenance he could. Protection triumphed at the polls in 1878, not merely by the use of economic arguments, but because it was heralded as the "National Policy" and hailed as a declaration of the commercial independence of Canada. A few years later the legislation for the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, bold to the point of rashness, as it seemed, and unwise and improvident in some of its provisions, was heartily approved by the country, because it was regarded as a measure of national growth and expansion. The strength of the Conservative party from 1878 to 1891 was largely due to its adoption of the vital principle and spirit of Canada First.

The *Globe's* attacks upon the Canada First party also had the effect of fixing in the public mind a picture of George Brown as a dictator and a relentless wielder of the party whip, a picture contrasting strangely with those suggested by his early career. He had fought for responsible government, for freedom from clerical dictation; he had been one of the boldest of rebels against party discipline; he had carelessly thrown away a great party advantage in order to promote confederation; he had been the steady opponent of slavery. In 1874 the Liberals were in power both at Ottawa and at Toronto, and Mr. Brown may not have been free from the party man's delusion that when his party is in power all is well, and agitation for change is mischievous. Canada First threatened to change the formation of political parties, and seemed to him to threaten a change in the relations of Canada to the empire. But these explanations do not alter the fact that his attitude caused the Liberal party to lose touch with a movement characterized by intellectual keenness and generosity of sentiment, representing a real though ill-defined national impulse, and destined to leave its mark upon the history of the country.

CHAPTER XXIV

LATER YEARS

IN the preceding chapters it has been necessary to follow closely the numerous public movements with which Brown was connected. Here we may pause and consider some incidents of his life and some aspects of his character which lie outside of these main streams of action. First, a few words about the Brown household. Of the relations between father and son something has already been said. Of his mother, Mr. Alexander Mackenzie says: "We may assume that Mr. Brown derived much of his energy, power and religious zeal from his half Celtic origin: these qualities he possessed in an eminent degree, united with the proverbial caution and prudence of the Lowlander." The children, in the order of age, were Jane, married to Mr. George Mackenzie of New York; George; Isabella, married to Mr. Thomas Henning; Katherine, who died unmarried; Marianne, married to the Rev. W. S. Ball; and John Gordon. There were no idlers in that family. The publication of the *Globe* in the early days involved a tremendous struggle. Peter Brown lent a hand in the business as well as in the editorial department of the paper. A good deal of the writing in the *Banner* and the early *Globe* seems to bear the marks of his broad Liberalism and his passionate love of freedom. Gordon entered the office as a boy, and rose to be managing editor. Three of the daughters conducted a ladies' school, which enjoyed an excellent reputation for thoroughness. Katherine, the third daughter, was killed in a railway accident at Syracuse; and the shock seriously affected the health of the father, who died in 1863. The mother had died in the previous year.

By these events and by marriages the busy household was broken up. George Brown, as we have seen, married in 1862, and from that time until his death his letters to his wife and children show an intense affection and love of home. After her husband's death Mrs. Brown resided in Edinburgh, where she died on May 6th 1906. The only son, George M. Brown, was, in the last parliament, member of the British House of Commons for Centre Edinburgh, and is one of the firm of Thomas Nelson & Sons, publishers. In the same city reside two daughters, Margaret, married to Dr. A. F. H. Barbour, a well-known physician, and writer on medicine; and Edith, wife of George Sandeman. Among other survivors are, E. B. Brown, barrister, Toronto; Alfred S. Ball, K.C., police magistrate, Woodstock; and Peter B. Ball, commercial agent for Canada at Birmingham, nephews of George Brown.

From 1852 George Brown was busily engaged in public life, and a large part of the work of the newspaper must have fallen on other shoulders. There are articles in which one may fancy he detects the French neatness of William Macdougall. George Sheppard spoke at the convention of 1859 like a statesman; and he and Macdougall had higher qualities than mere facility with the pen. Gordon Brown gradually grew into the editorship. "He had" says Mr. E. W. Thomson, writing of a later period, "a singular power of utilizing suggestions, combining several that were evidently not associated, and indicating how they could be merged in a striking manner. He seems to me now to have been the greatest all-round editor I have yet had the pleasure of witnessing at work, and in the political department superior to any of the old or of the new time in North America, except only Horace Greeley." But Mr. Thomson thinks that like most of the old-timers he took his politics a little too hard. Mr. Gordon Brown died in June, 1896.

Mr. Brown regarded his defeat in South Ontario in 1867, as an opportunity to retire from parliamentary life. He had expressed that intention several months before. He wrote to Holton, on May 13th, 1867, "My fixed determination is to see the Liberal party re-united and in the ascendant, and then make my bow as a politician. As a journalist and a citizen, I hope always to be found on the right side and heartily supporting my old friends. But I want to be free to write of men and things without control, beyond that which my conscientious convictions and the interests of my country demand. To be debarred by fear of injuring the party from saying that —— is unfit to sit in parliament and that —— is very stupid, makes journalism a very small business. Party leadership and the conducting of a great journal do not harmonize."

In his speech at the convention of 1867 he said that he had looked forward to the triumph of representation by population as the day of his emancipation from parliamentary life, but that the case was altered by the proposal to continue the coalition, involving a secession from the ranks of the Liberal party. In this juncture it was necessary for Liberals to unite and consult, and if it were found that his continuance in parliamentary life for a short time would be a service to the party, he would not refuse. It would be impossible, however, for him to accept any official position, and he did not wish, by remaining in parliament, to stand in the way of those who would otherwise become leaders of the party. He again emphasized the difficulty of combining the functions of leadership of a party and management of a newspaper. "The sentiments of the leader of a party are only known from his public utterances on public occasions. If a wrong act is committed by an opponent or by a friend, he may simply shrug his shoulders." But it was otherwise with the journalist. He had been accused of fierce assaults on public men. "But I tell you if the daily thoughts and the words daily uttered by other public men were written in a book as mine have been, and circulated all over the country, there would have been a very different comparison between them and myself. I have had a double duty to perform. If I had been simply the leader of a party and had not controlled a public journal, such things would not have been left on record. I might have passed my observations in private conversation, and no more would have been heard of them. But as a journalist it was necessary I should speak the truth before the people, no matter whether it helped my party or not; and this, of course, reflected on the position of the party. Consequently, I have long felt very strongly that I had to choose one position or the other—that of a leader in parliamentary life, or that of a monitor in the public press—and the latter has been my choice being probably more in consonance with my ardent temperament, and at the same time, in my opinion, more influential; for I am free to say that in view of all the grand offices that are now talked of—governorships, premierships and the like—I would rather be editor of the *Globe*, with the hearty confidence of the great mass of the people of Upper Canada, than have the choice of them all."

Of Mr. Brown's relations with the parliamentary leaders after his retirement, Mr. Mackenzie says: "Nor did he ever in after years attempt to control or influence parliamentary proceedings as conducted by the Liberals in opposition, or in the government; while always willing to give his opinion when asked on any particular question, he never volunteered his advice. His opinions, of course, received free utterance in the *Globe*, which was more unfettered by reason of his absence from parliamentary duties; though even there it was rarely indeed that any articles were published which were calculated to inconvenience or discomfort those who occupied his former position."[1]

Left comparatively free to follow his own inclinations, Brown plunged into farming, spending money and energy freely in the raising of fine cattle on his Bow Park estate near Brantford, an extensive business which ultimately led to the formation of a joint stock company. The province of Ontario, especially western Ontario, was for him the object of an intense local patriotism. He loved to travel over it and to meet the people. It was noticed in the *Globe* office that he paid special attention to the weekly edition of the paper, as that which reached the farming community. His Bow Park enterprise gave him an increased feeling of kinship and sympathy with that community, and he delighted in showing farmers over the estate. It would be hard to draw a more characteristic picture than that of the tall senator striding over the fields, talking of cattle and crops with all the energy with which he was wont to denounce the Tories.

Brown was appointed to the senate in December, 1873. Except for the speech on reciprocity, which is dealt with elsewhere, his career there was not noteworthy. He seems to have taken no part in the discussion on Senator Vidal's resolution in favour of prohibition, or on the Scott Act, a measure for introducing prohibition by local option. A popular conception of Brown as an ardent advocate of legislative prohibition may have been derived from some speeches made in his early career, and from an early prospectus of the *Globe*. On the bill providing for government of the North-West Territories he made a speech against the provision for separate schools, warning the House that the effect would be to fasten these institutions on the West in perpetuity.

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[1] Mackenzie's *Life and Speeches of the Hon. George Brown*, p. 219.

In 1876 Senator Brown figured in a remarkable case of contempt of court. A Bowmanville newspaper had charged Senator Simpson, a political ally of Brown, with resorting to bribery in the general election of 1872. It published also a letter from Senator Brown to Senator Simpson, asking him for a subscription towards the Liberal campaign fund. On Senator Simpson's application, Wilkinson, the editor of the paper, was called upon to show cause why a criminal information should not issue against him for libel. The case was argued before the Queen's Bench, composed of Chief-Justice Harrison, Justice Morrison, and Justice Wilson. The judgment of the court delivered by the chief-justice was against the editor in regard to two of the articles complained of and in his favour in regard to the third. In following the chief-justice, Mr. Justice Wilson took occasion to refer to Senator Brown's letter and to say that it was written with corrupt intent to interfere with the freedom of elections.

Brown was not the man to allow a charge of this kind to go unanswered, and in this case there were special circumstances calculated to arouse his anger. The publication of his letter in the Bowmanville paper had been the signal for a fierce attack upon him by the Conservative press of the province. It appeared to him that Justice Wilson had wantonly made himself a participant in this attack, lending the weight of his judicial influence to his enemies. Interest was added to the case by the fact that the judge had been in previous years supported by the *Globe* in municipal and parliamentary elections. He had been solicitor-general in the Macdonald-Sicotte government from May 1862 to May 1863. Judge Morrison had been solicitor-general under Hincks, and afterwards a colleague of John A. Macdonald. Each of them, in this case, took a course opposite to that which might have been expected from old political associations.

A few days afterwards the *Globe* contained a long, carefully prepared and powerful attack upon Mr. Justice Wilson. Beginning with a tribute to the Bench of Ontario, it declared that no fault was to be found with the judgment of the court, and that the offence lay in the gratuitous comments of Mr. Justice Wilson.

"No sooner had the chief-justice finished than Mr. Justice Wilson availed himself of the occasion to express his views of the matter with a freedom of speech and an indifference to the evidence before the court and an indulgence in assumptions, surmises and insinuations, that we believe to be totally unparalleled in the judicial proceedings of any Canadian court."

The article denied that the letter was written with any corrupt intent, and it stated that the entire fund raised by the Liberal party in the general election of 1872 was only three thousand seven hundred dollars, or forty-five dollars for each of the eighty-two constituencies. "This Mr. Justice Wilson may rest assured of: that such slanders and insults shall not go unanswered, and if the dignity of the Bench is ruffled in the tussle, on his folly shall rest the blame. We cast back on Mr. Wilson his insolent and slanderous interpretation. The letter was not written for corrupt purposes. It was not written to interfere with the freedom of elections. It was not an invitation to anybody to concur in committing bribery and corruption at the polls; and be he judge or not who says so, this statement is false."

The writer went on to contend that there were perfectly legitimate expenditures in keenly contested elections. "Was there no such fund when Mr. Justice Wilson was in public life? When the hat went round in his contest for the mayoralty, was that or was it not a concurrence in bribery or corruption at the polls?" Mr. Justice Wilson had justified his comment by declaring that he might take notice of matters with which every person of ordinary intelligence was acquainted. Fastening upon these words the *Globe* asked, "How could Mr. Justice Wilson in his hunt for things which every person of ordinary intelligence is acquainted with, omit to state that while the entire general election fund of the Liberal party for that year (1872) was but three thousand seven hundred dollars, raised by subscription from a few private individuals, the Conservative fund on the same occasion amounted to the enormous sum of two hundred thousand dollars, raised by the flagitious sale of the Pacific Railway contract to a band of speculators on terms disastrous to the interests of the country."

In another vigorous paragraph the writer said: "We deeply regret being compelled to write of the conduct of any member of the Ontario Bench in the tone of this article, but the offence was so rank, so reckless, so utterly unjustifiable that soft words would have but poorly discharged our duty to the public."

No proceedings were taken in regard to this article until about five months afterwards, when Mr. Wilkinson, the editor of the Bowmanville paper, applied to have Mr. Brown committed for contempt of court. The judge assailed took no action and the case was tried before his colleagues, Chief-Justice Harrison and Judge Morrison. Mr. Brown appeared in person and made an argument occupying portions of two days. He pointed out that the application had been delayed five months after the publication of the article. He contended that Wilkinson was not prejudiced by the *Globe* article and had no standing in the case. In a lengthy affidavit he entered into the whole question of the expenditure of the two parties in the election of 1872, including the circumstances of the Pacific Scandal. He repeated on oath the statement made in the article that his letter was not written with corrupt intent; that the subscription asked for was for legitimate purposes and that it was part of a fund amounting to only three thousand seven hundred dollars for the whole province of Ontario. He boldly justified the article as provoked by Mr. Justice Wilson's dictum and by the use that would be made of it by hostile politicians. The judge had chosen to intervene in a keen political controversy whose range extended to the Pacific Scandal; and in defending himself from his enemies and the enemies of his party, Brown was forced to answer the judge. He argued that to compel an editor to keep silence in such a case, would not only be unjust to him, but contrary to public policy. For instance, the discussion of a great public question such as that involved in the Pacific Scandal, might be stopped upon the application of a party to a suit in which that question was incidentally raised.

The case was presented with his accustomed energy and thoroughness, from the point of view of journalistic duty, of politics and of law—for Mr.

Brown was not afraid to tread that sacred ground and give extensive citations from the law reports. His address may be commended to any editor who may be pursued by that mysterious legal phantom, a charge of contempt of court. The energy of his gestures, the shaking of the white head and the swinging of the long arms, must have somewhat startled Osgoode Hall. The court was divided, the chief-justice ruling that there had been contempt, Mr. Justice Morrison, contra, and Mr. Justice Wilson taking no part in the proceedings. So the matter dropped, though not out of the memory of editors and politicians.

CHAPTER XXV

CONCLUSION

THE building in which the life of the Hon. George Brown was so tragically ended, was one that had been presented to him by the Reformers of Upper Canada before confederation "as a mark of the high sense entertained by his political friends of the long, faithful and important services which he has rendered to the people of Canada." It stood upon the north side of King Street, on ground which is now the lower end of Victoria Street, for the purpose of extending which, the building was demolished. The ground floor was occupied by the business office; on the next, looking out upon King Street, was Mr. Brown's private office; and above that the rooms occupied by the editorial staff, with the composing room in the rear. At about half past four o'clock on the afternoon of March 25th, 1880, several of the occupants of the editorial rooms heard a shot, followed by a sound of breaking glass, and cries of "Help!" and "Murder!" Among these were Mr. Avern Pardoe, now librarian of the legislative assembly of Ontario; Mr. Archibald Blue, now head of the census bureau at Ottawa; Mr. John A. Ewan, now leader writer on the *Globe*; and Mr. Allan S. Thompson, father of the present foreman of the *Globe* composing room. Mr. Ewan and Mr. Thompson were first to arrive on the scene. Following the direction from which the sounds proceeded, they found Mr. Brown on the landing, struggling with an undersized man, whose head was thrust into Brown's breast. Mr. Ewan and Mr. Thompson seized the man, while Mr. Brown himself wrested a smoking pistol from his hand. Mr. Blue, Mr. Pardoe and others quickly joined the group, and Mr. Brown, though not apparently severely injured, was induced to lie on the sofa in his room, where his wound was examined. The bullet had passed through the outer side of the left thigh, about four inches downward and backward ; it was found on the floor of the office.

The assailant was George Bennett, who had been employed in the engine room of the *Globe* for some years, and had been discharged for intemperance. Mr. Brown said that when Bennett entered the office he proceeded to shut the door behind him. Thinking the man's movements singular, Mr. Brown stopped him and asked him what he wanted. Bennett, after some hesitation, presented a paper for Mr. Brown's signature, saying that it was a statement that he had been employed in the *Globe* for five years. Mr. Brown said he should apply to the head of the department in which he was employed. Bennett said that the head of the department had refused to give the certificate. Mr. Brown then told him to apply to Mr. Henning, the treasurer of the company, who could furnish the information by examining his books.

Bennett kept insisting that Mr. Brown should sign the paper, and finally began to fumble in his pistol pocket. whereupon it passed through Mr. Brown's mind "that the little wretch might be meaning to shoot me." As he got the pistol out, Mr. Brown seized his wrist and turned his hand downward. After one shot had been fired, the struggle continued until the two got outside the landing, where they were found as already described.

The bullet had struck no vital part, and the wound was not considered to be mortal. But as week after week passed without substantial improvement, the anxiety of his friends and of the country deepened. At the trial the question was raised whether recovery had been prevented by the fact that Mr. Brown, against the advice of his physician, transacted business in his room. After the first eight or ten days there were intervals of delirium. Towards the end of April when the case looked very serious, Mr. Brown had a long conversation with the Rev. Dr. Greig, his old pastor, and with members of his family. "In that conversation," says Mr. Mackenzie, "he spoke freely to them of his faith and hope, and we are told poured out his soul in full and fervent prayer," and he joined heartily in the singing of the hymn "Rock of Ages." A few days afterwards he became unconscious; the physicians ceased to press stimulants or nourishment upon him, and early on Sunday, May 10th, he passed away.

Bennett was tried and found guilty of murder on June 22nd following, and was executed a month afterwards. Though he caused the death of a man so conspicuous in the public life of Canada, his act is not to be classed with assassinations committed from political motives, or even from love of notoriety. On the scaffold he said that he had not intended to kill Mr. Brown. However this may be, it is certain that it was not any act of Mr. Brown's that set up that process of brooding over grievances that had so tragic an ending. By misfortune and by drinking, a mind, naturally ill-regulated had been reduced to that condition in which enemies are seen on every hand. A paper was found upon him in which he set forth a maniacal plan of murdering a supposed enemy and concealing the remains in the furnace of the *Globe* building. That the original object of his enmity was not Mr. Brown is certain; there was not the slightest ground for the suspicion that the victim was made to suffer for some enmity aroused in his strenuous career as a public man. Strange that after such a career he should meet a violent death at the hands of a man who was thinking solely of private grievances!

Tracing Mr. Brown's career through a long period of history, by his public actions, his speeches, and the volumes of his newspaper, one arrives at a somewhat different estimate from that preserved in familiar gossip and tradition. That tradition pictures a man impulsive, stormy, imperious, bearing down by sheer force all opposition to his will. In the main it is probably true; but the printed record is also true, and out of the two we must strive to reproduce the man. We are told of a speech delivered with flashing eye, with gestures that seemed almost to threaten physical violence. We read the report of the speech and we find something more than the ordinary transition from warm humanity to cold print. There is not only freedom from violence, but there is coherence, close reasoning, a systematic marshalling of facts and figures and arguments. One might say of many of his speeches, as was said of Alexander Mackenzie's sentences, that he built them as he built a stone wall. His tremendous energy was not spasmodic, but was backed by solid industry, method and persistence.

As Mr. Bengough said in a little poem published soon after Mr. Brown's death,

> "His nature was a rushing mountain stream;
> His faults but eddies which its swiftness bred."

In his business as a journalist, he had not much of that philosophy which says that the daily difficulties of a newspaper are sure to solve themselves by the effluxion of time. There are traditions of his impatience and his outbreaks of wrath when something went wrong, but there are traditions also of a kindness large enough to include the lad who carried the proofs to his house. Those who were thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the office say that he was extremely lenient with employees who were intemperate or otherwise incurred blame, and that his leniency had been extended to Bennett. Intimate friends and political associates deny that he played the dictator, and say that he was genial and humorous in familiar intercourse. But it is, after all, a somewhat unprofitable task to endeavour to sit in judgment on the personal character of a public man, placing this virtue against that fault, and solemnly assuming to decide which side of the ledger exceeds the other. We have to deal with the character of Brown as a force in its relation to other forces, and to the events of the period of history covered by his career.

A quarter of a century has now elapsed since the death of George Brown and a still longer time since the most stirring scenes in his career were enacted. We ought therefore to be able to see him in something like his true relation to the history of his times. He came to Canada at a time when the notion of colonial self-government was regarded as a startling innovation. He found among the dominant class a curious revival of the famous Stuart doctrine, "No Bishop, no King;" hence the rise of such leaders, partly political and partly religious, as Bishop Strachan, among the Anglicans, and Dr. Ryerson, among the Methodists, the former vindicating and the latter challenging the exclusive privileges of the Anglican Church. There was room for a similar leader among Presbyterians, and in a certain sense this was the opportunity of George Brown. In founding first a Presbyterian paper and afterwards a political paper, he was following a line familiar to the people of his time. But while he had a special influence among Presbyterians, he appeared, not as claiming special privileges for them, but as the opponent of all privilege, fighting first the Anglican Church and afterwards the Roman Catholic Church, and asserting in each case the principle of the separation of Church and State.

For some years after Brown's arrival in Canada, those questions in which politics and religion were blended were subordinated to a question purely political—colonial self-government. The atmosphere was not favourable to cool discussion. The colony had been in rebellion, and the passions aroused by the rebellion were always ready to burst into flame. French Canada having been more deeply stirred by the rebellion than Upper Canada, racial animosity was added there to party bitterness. The task of the Reformers was to work steadily for the establishment of a new order involving a highly important principle of government, and, at the same time, to keep the movement free from all suspicion of incitement to rebellion.

The leading figure of this movement is that of Robert Baldwin, and he was well supported by Hincks, by Sullivan, by William Hume Blake and others. The forces were wisely led, and it is not pretended that this direction was due to Brown. He was in 1844 only twenty-six years of age, and his position at first was that of a recruit. But he was a recruit of uncommon vigour and steadiness, and though he did not originate, he emphasized the idea of carrying on the fight on strictly constitutional and peaceful lines. His experience in New York and his deep hatred of slavery had strengthened by contrast his conviction that Great Britain was the citadel of liberty, and hence his utterances in favour of British connection were not conventional, but glowed with enthusiasm.

With 1849 came the triumph of Reform, and the last despairing effort of the old régime, dying out with the flames of the parliament buildings at Montreal. Now ensued a change in both parties. The one, exhausted and discredited by its fight against the inevitable coming of the new order, remained for a time weak and inactive, under a leader whose day was done. The other, in the very hour of victory, began to suffer disintegration. It had its Conservative element desiring to rest and be thankful, and its Radical element with aims not unlike those of Chartism in England. Brown stood for a time between the government and the Conservative element on the one side and the Clear Grits on the other. Disintegration was hastened by the retirement of Baldwin and Lafontaine. Then came the brief and troubled reign of Hincks; then a reconstruction of parties, with Conservatives under the leadership of Macdonald and Reformers under that of Brown.

The stream of politics between 1854 and 1864 is turbid; there is pettiness, there is bitterness, there is confusion. But away from this turmoil the province is growing in population, in wealth, in all the elements of civilization. Upper Canada especially is growing by immigration; it overtakes and passes Lower Canada in population, and thus arises the question of representation by population. Brown takes up this reform in representation as a means of freeing Upper Canada from the domination of the Lower Province. He becomes the "favourite son" of Upper Canada. His rival, through his French-Canadian alliance, meets him with a majority from Lower Canada; and so, for several years, there is a period of equally balanced parties and weak governments, ending in dead-lock.

If Brown's action had only broken this dead-lock, extricated some struggling politicians from difficulty, and allowed the ordinary business of government to proceed, it might have deserved only passing notice. But more than that was involved. The difficulty was inherent in the system. The legislative union was Lord Durham's plan of assimilating the races that he had found "warring in the bosom of a single state." The plan had failed. The line of cleavage was as sharply defined as ever. The ill-assorted union had produced only strife and misunderstanding. Yet to break the tie when new duties and new dangers had emphasized the necessity for union seemed to be an act of folly. To federalize the union was to combine the advantage of common action with liberty to each community to work out its own ideals in education, municipal government and all other matters of local concern. More than that, to federalize the union was to substitute for a rigid bond a bond elastic enough to allow of expansion, eastward to the Atlantic and westward to the Pacific. That principle which has been called provincial rights, or provincial autonomy, might be described more accurately and comprehensively as federalism; and it is the basic principle of Canadian political institutions, as essential to unity as to peace and local freedom.

The feeble, isolated and distracted colonies of 1864 have given place to a commonwealth which, if not in strictness a nation, possesses all the elements and possibilities of nationality, with a territory open on three sides to the ocean, lying in the highway of the world's commerce, and capable of supporting a population as large as that of the British Islands. Confederation was the first and greatest step in that process of expansion, and it is speaking only words of truth and soberness to say that confederation will rank among the landmarks of the world's history, and that its importance will not decline but will increase as history throws events into their true perspective. It is in his association with confederation, with the events that led up to confederation, and with the addition to Canada of the vast and fertile plains of the West, that the life of George Brown is of interest to the student of history.

Brown was not only a member of parliament and an actor in the political drama, but was the founder of a newspaper, and for thirty-six years the source of its inspiration and influence. As a journalist he touched life at many points. He was a man of varied interests—railways, municipal affairs, prison reform, education, agriculture, all came within the range of his duty as a journalist and his interest and sympathy as a man. Those stout-hearted men who amid all the wrangling and intrigue of the politicians were turning the wilderness of Canada into a garden, gave to Brown in large measure their confidence and affection. He, on his part, valued their friendship more than any victory that could be won in the political game. That was the standard by which he always asked to be judged. This story of his life may help to show that he was true to the trust they reposed in him, and to the principles that were the standards of his political conduct, to government by the people, to free institutions, to religious liberty and equality, to the unity and progress of the confederation of which he was one of the builders.

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SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

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From a photograph

THE MAKERS OF CANADA SERIES

Anniversary Edition

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

BY

GEORGE R. PARKIN

Illustrated under the direction of A. G. Doughty, C.M.G., Litt.D.
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PREFACE

BY common consent Sir John Alexander Macdonald has been assigned the foremost place among the statesmen whom the public life of Canada has hitherto produced. Popular opinion on this point has been ratified by the stricter and measured judgment of the ablest men among his Canadian contemporaries with whom he was brought into close personal and official contact. It was equally ratified, even during his lifetime, by opinion in Britain, where those who best knew his work recognized in him one of the foremost statesmen of the empire. At his death the creation of a peerage for his widow put a special stamp of national recognition upon the singular services which he had rendered to Canada and the nation. A memorial tablet in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral—his statue adorning the squares of most of the larger Canadian cities—indicate the general desire to perpetuate his memory.

If special honour is due to those who by wise constructive statesmanship lay broad and deep the foundations of a great state, then to such honour Sir John Macdonald is fairly entitled.

No public man has ever in Canada won in an equal degree the sustained admiration of his fellow-citizens, and at the same time their affection, as had Macdonald at the time of his death. That he should have done this in spite of grave political errors and acknowledged personal defects, and as the general outcome of a life spent in the very furnace of party conflict, makes the achievement all the more striking.

For many years before Confederation his history is an essential part of the political history of the province of Canada as then constituted; for nearly twenty-five years afterwards it is practically that of the whole Dominion. While many men and many forces contributed to that great end, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that it was his personality which in 1867 made the confederation of British North America possible. Rightly understood this period was as critical for the empire as it was for the colony itself. No one can doubt that the whole future development of the imperial system is destined to be profoundly affected by the course of action then taken.

It was fortunate that at such a time Canada possessed a public man who was versed in all the intricacies of local politics, and endowed with the peculiar skill which creates and holds together parliamentary majorities, and who at the same time had a mind capable of grasping the problems of a broad national statesmanship. The colonial politician, guided by a few dominant principles, gradually developed, under the pressure of circumstances and the needs of a great occasion, into an imperial statesman who has left a lasting stamp upon the policy of the nation.

The confederation of Canada under the Crown inaugurated the new idea and the new organization of the empire. That organization is still far from complete. Other great groups of colonies are feeling their way towards a consolidation similar to that which has conferred such immense advantage on the Dominion. The empire as a whole begins to realize that it has not yet reached its final goal in the process of political evolution.

The period in which we live is, therefore, one of national transition where every lesson of experience has extreme value. The work of the men who laid well and truly the constitutional foundations of the Dominion has now stood the test of nearly forty years of stress and strain. A political system which commands public confidence, a healthy national spirit, great material prosperity, and well grounded hope for an ever-widening and successful future are results apparent to the ordinary observer.

The labours of Macdonald and his fellow-workers in adapting British constitutional principles to a federal system have become a part, and no unimportant part, of our national heritage. A recognition of the value of the work they accomplished will facilitate further national development.

The historical facts of a period tend to group themselves around its strongest and most representative personality. The man's history becomes the history of his time. Thus Canadians will always associate with the figure of their great leader the group of events which transformed their country from a number of isolated colonies, provincial in thought and policy, into a consolidated and self-reliant Dominion, filled with those hopes of a vast future which are naturally inspired by the possession of one-half of a great continent.

Even before the end of his life Macdonald had come to be looked upon as embodying, more than any one else, the spirit and purpose of the Canadian people. The tradition is one which seems likely to grow with the growth of the Dominion and with the fuller and more general recognition of the significance of the work he did and of the critical character of the period in which that work was accomplished.

My aim in this volume will be to bring this tradition within the limits of true historical perspective, so far as this is possible in a limited space and in dealing with events still close at hand. I wish to outline concisely, but at the same time clearly, the career of the man who guided the destinies of my country through the anxious years which preceded Confederation and the difficult and not untroubled ones which followed the union of the provinces.

For such a condensed biography there seems a distinct need. Sketches of Macdonald's career were written during his life, but mainly for party purposes and with a strong party bias. The two large volumes in which, since his death, Mr. Pope has ably redeemed the trust committed to him of being the literary executor of his old chief, and those in which Colonel Macpherson has embodied many of his uncle's most important speeches, may be recommended to all who have the wish and the opportunity to study the details of Canadian politics. To both I have been constantly indebted. But either of these works is too voluminous, in these days of many books, for readers who can only spare the time to master essential facts. It is for such readers that this short biography is intended. I hope that in trying to condense I have not become obscure; that in the effort to be brief, no fact of major significance has been omitted.

It is not an easy task to separate in all cases the false from the true, or to form an impartial judgment in writing of a man whose every public word and deed was regarded from a party point of view at a period when party passion was extreme; whose actions and purposes are perhaps as unfairly judged by the adulation of supporters as by the hostile interpretation of opponents.

It may be a century before the final biography of Macdonald can be written, and his true place among contemporary statesmen assigned to him on clear historical grounds. Meanwhile, an attempt to separate the kernel of his achievement as a statesman from the husk of political controversy, in which the work of public men is so often hidden, may serve a patriotic purpose. It is in this belief that the present volume has been prepared.

G. R. P.

London, August, 1907.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Since Sir George Parkin completed this book in 1907, much has been written about Sir John Macdonald, and about the times in which he played his part. A list of titles will be found on pp. 353-4, and also in the general bibliography which forms part of the concluding volume of this series. But a careful rereading, in the light of these subsequent publications, of Sir George Parkin's estimate of Macdonald, has confirmed my belief in its accuracy alike in perspective and in detail, and save for a few minor corrections, it is republished as he wrote it.

W. L. GRANT.

July 1, 1925.

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CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE AND TRAINING

1815 TO 1844

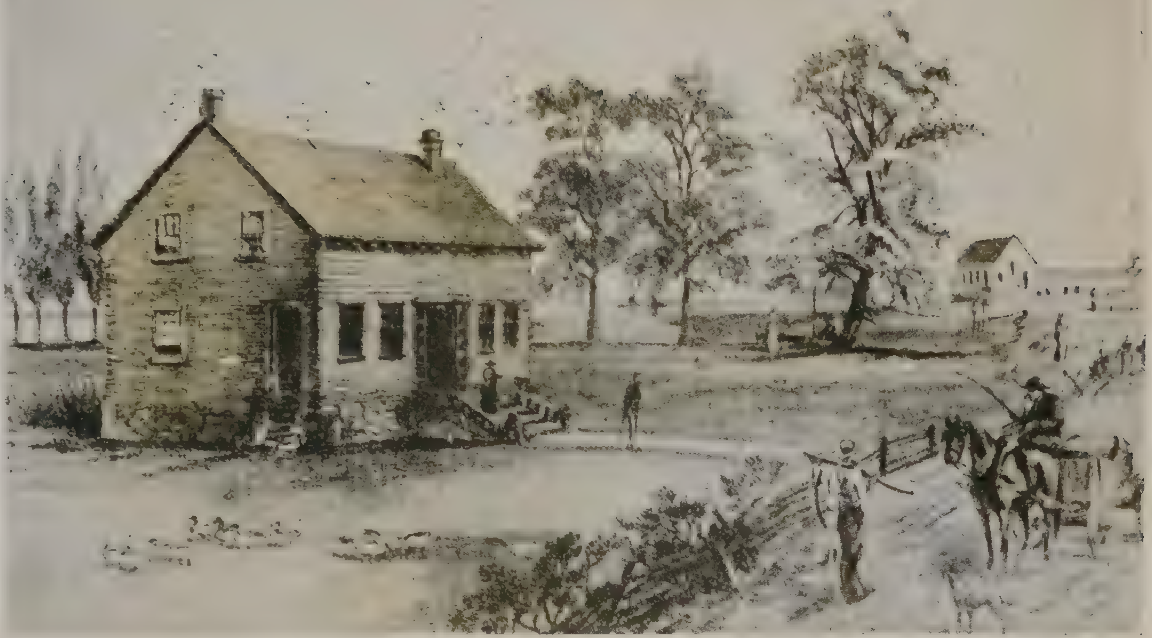
LIKE many other men who have won distinction in building up the empire abroad, the future premier of the Dominion was of Scottish birth. His ancestors, respectable merchants or farmers, had the usual traditional links with a remote past, but nothing apparently to distinguish them from other Highland families. His father, Mr. Hugh Macdonald, was a native of Sutherlandshire who had removed as a young man from his native village in the north to Glasgow, where he became a manufacturer in a small way, and was married to Miss Helen Shaw of that city, also of Highland descent. Of this marriage there were born five children, of whom John Alexander, the subject of this biography, was the third. The date of his birth was January 11th, 1815, the year of Waterloo.

The lad was in the fifth year of his age when in 1820 his father, whose business ventures in Glasgow had not been successful, resolved to emigrate to Canada.

Thus, while his extraction was Scottish, his whole training was essentially Canadian. His boyish inspirations came from the country which he was to consolidate and rule.

The family settled first in the town of Kingston, in the province of Ontario, then the most important military post and social centre of Upper Canada. The early attempts of the father to find a business footing in Kingston having failed, the family removed in succession to two of the small neighbouring settlements, Hay Bay and Stone Mills, on the Bay of Quinté. The years spent there seem to have been equally unsuccessful, from a business point of view, and in 1836 Mr. Macdonald returned to Kingston, where he was appointed to a position in the Commercial Bank. Here his health began to fail and he died five years later, in 1841, at the age of fifty-nine.

Though evidently unstable in purpose and unequal to the rough work of a new country, Mr. Macdonald seems to have been a man of some ability and a kindly heart, with a keen desire, truly Scottish, that his children should get education. But it is evident that the son owed little of his great qualities to paternal heredity. His mother, who lived until 1862, was of stronger fibre, and was apparently the binding force which held the family together through many anxious years. She is described as a woman of great intellectual vigour and strong personality, quiet in manner and with a keen sense of humour. Her son was devoted to her, and as she lived to the age of eighty-five,



EARLY HOME OF SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

she watched the earlier stages of his brilliant career.

Meanwhile the lad had been for five years, between the ages of ten and fifteen, a pupil at the Kingston Grammar School. In this brief space was compressed his whole formal education, beyond what had been received at elementary schools. Even school life must have been weighted with anxieties. "I had no boyhood," he once said to a friend. "From the age of fifteen I began to earn my own living."

But already at school one quality which marked the man—that of winning the affection of those around him—seems to have asserted itself in the boy. "I like to remember those early school days when John Macdonald and myself were pupils at the same school, he being one of the older boys and I one of the younger," said Sir Oliver Mowat at the unveiling of Macdonald's statue in 1895. "He was as popular with the boys then as he afterwards became with men."

Of university training he had none. The circumstance was to him a matter of lasting regret; but it is one which brings out in stronger relief the natural ability and energy of a mind which triumphed over the deficiencies of education, and held its own among men of the highest culture. Omnivorous reading, to which he was passionately addicted to the end of his career, became the substitute for a university course.

On leaving school in 1830, he at once entered upon the study of law in the office of Mr. George Mackenzie, a friend of his father with whom he lodged. His school-boy age at this time suggests the duties of a junior clerk or office boy rather than serious legal study. Apparently during the whole course of his law studies he was earning his own living and probably assisting his family, so that he must have received wages for his office work.

He seems to have inspired confidence almost at once, for as early as 1832, while still a young student, he was sent to look after the business of a branch office opened at Napanee, and in 1833 he went, by arrangement with Mr. Mackenzie, to Picton to take charge of the law office of Mr. L. P. Macpherson, in the absence of that gentleman from Canada.

For a political career the experience thus gained was doubtless most valuable. The practice of a country lawyer in Canada brings him into singularly close touch with the difficulties and needs, the passions, prejudices and peculiarities of the farming population which forms the political backbone of the country. For the special work lying before him, this training perhaps meant as much as any that even a university could give.

Of these early years of struggle and hard work little has been brought to light worthy of special record as illustrating the character of the young man, or as giving clear indication of the great career which awaited him. Few men of equal mark in later life have had a youth so devoid of memorable incident.

There are suggestions in fragments of correspondence that he had not only secured the trust of his employers, but had also attracted the special interest of others beside those under whom he worked. A cheerful disposition, joined to industrious habits, appears to have made him a favourite in the small circle in which he moved. His life at this stage was the life of many an ambitious and energetic law student in Canada to-day: a round of ordinary office duties, lightened by the pleasant social intercourse of a stirring provincial town.

The exceptional qualities of leadership which marked his later career were to be developed in the slow process of time and events.

On February 6th, 1836, he was called to the bar and immediately opened an office in Kingston, thus entering upon the practice of the law on his own account at the early age of twenty-one. Business seems to have come to him at once, partly no doubt from his previous connection with principals having a large practice, and partly through the impression which his abilities had already made on those who knew him.

That he had still to overcome the crudity and impetuosity of youth, a curious story shows. It is thus told by Mr. Pope: "In his first case, which was at Picton, Mr. Macdonald and the opposing counsel became involved in an argument, which, waxing hotter and hotter, culminated in blows. They closed and fought in open court to the scandal of the judge who immediately instructed the crier to enforce order. This crier was an old man, personally much attached to Mr. Macdonald, in whom he took a lively interest. In pursuance of his duty, however, he was compelled to interfere. Moving towards the combatants and circling round them he shouted in stentorian tones, 'Order in the court, order in the court,' adding in a low but intensely sympathetic voice as he passed near his protégé, 'Hit him, John!' I have heard Sir John Macdonald say that, in many a parliamentary encounter in after years, he had seemed to hear above the excitement of the occasion, the voice of the old crier whispering in his ear the words of encouragement, 'Hit him, John!'" This escapade does not seem to have affected his legal career.

The interesting fact was often recalled in later times that, during the first year of his practice, two young men marked out for future distinction, Oliver Mowat and Alexander Campbell, entered his office as students. Twenty-eight years later the three men were members of the same cabinet. Of the three, one died as prime minister of Canada; one as lieutenant-governor of his native province, after having been its premier for twenty-three years; the third, after having held several of the most important offices in the Dominion cabinet, also ended his career as lieutenant-governor of Ontario. All had been knighted in recognition of their distinguished public services. The coincidence of ability, opportunity and of actual achievement is noteworthy.

The years which marked the beginning of Macdonald's career were critical ones in the history of Canada. As we have seen he was called to the bar in 1836. In 1837 rebellion broke out headed by Papineau in Lower Canada, and by William Lyon Mackenzie in Upper Canada. To aid in its suppression the militia and volunteers were called out, and the young lawyer along with others shouldered his musket in defence of law and order.

The force to which he was attached was sent to Toronto. The rising in the Upper Province was speedily quelled, and his military service was therefore brief and bloodless. It is worth noting that one of his closest political friends, and one on whose aid he chiefly relied in after years for carrying Confederation and harmonizing the conflicting elements in the different provinces, Georges Etienne Cartier, was among those who had been carried away by the fiery and revolutionary eloquence of the French leader, Papineau. Sharing in the defeat of the rebels he fled from the country, but later availed himself of the general amnesty and returned to become one of the most loyal upholders of British power in Canada.

In the year following the rebellion Macdonald was called upon in the course of his professional work to defend, under circumstances which attracted attention at the time, one of those who had participated in the uprising. During the rebellion much sympathy had been shown across the American border for those who had taken up arms against the government. This sympathy quickly took the form of active assistance. In November of the year following a party of Americans crossed the border at a point a little below Prescott on the St. Lawrence, captured a windmill there, and held it for some days against the forces sent to drive them out. The party was finally overcome, its leaders were arrested and tried by court-martial, and eleven of them were ultimately hanged. Among them was Von Schoultz, a Polish gentleman of independent means, who, after fighting in the cause of Polish liberty in Europe, had been led to believe that in Canada he would be equally serving the cause of freedom by joining the rebels.

The romance of political biography long credited Macdonald with a defence of the accused man so brilliant as to establish his legal reputation, but this myth has been dispelled by the sober facts of authentic history, which show that the counsel for the defence neither made nor could make before the court-martial any speech at all in behalf of the prisoner, who pleaded guilty from the first, and, in the absence of all extenuating circumstances, was condemned and executed. A sum of money which he arranged to bequeath to his counsel, Macdonald declined to accept. In connection with the same events he was entrusted with the defence of Mr. Ashley, the jailer at Kingston, who was accused on insufficient grounds by the military authorities of having connived at the escape of some political prisoners. The vigour of his defence secured an acquittal for his client and increased his reputation as a lawyer, but damaged for a time his popularity, so strongly did public feeling run against the Americans who had wantonly invaded the country.

The years which immediately followed were marked only by hard work and increasing prosperity. In 1839 he became solicitor for the Commercial Bank, and soon after for a large Trust and Loan Company. The death of his old principal, Mr. George Mackenzie, greatly increased the circle of his clients.

In 1842 he paid his first visit to England, partly for the sake of his health, which had been shaken by a severe illness in 1840, and partly to make purchases for his law library.

His home letters during this time show that he entered with zest into the usual round of sightseeing—visited in London the law-courts, where he saw the great judges of the day on the bench; and parliament, where he listened to Peel, Lord John Russell, Stanley, O'Connell and others. He visited Oxford and Cambridge, admired the splendour of Windsor Castle and travelled much through his native Scotland as well as through England. He returned at the end of a few months with renewed strength and eager to take up the laborious professional work which now constituted the ordinary round of his life.

In 1843 he took into partnership in his growing business his former student, Alexander Campbell, a connection which continued till 1849. He had already begun to take an interest in municipal affairs, and in 1843 was elected an alderman for the city of Kingston. In this position he is said to have displayed good business ability and to have made himself popular. But larger fields of public employment were about to open before him.

Meanwhile, his increasing prosperity had enabled him to assume the cares of domestic life. He was married on September 1st, 1843, to his cousin, Miss Isabella Clark, whose acquaintance he had made in Scotland.[1] Soon after their marriage Mrs. Macdonald became a confirmed invalid, and for many years constant anxiety about a wife to whom he was devoted went hand-in-hand with professional and political cares.

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[1] Two children were the offspring of this marriage; the elder, John Alexander, was accidentally killed by a fall when quite young; the second, Hugh John, has been well known to Canadians as member of parliament for the city of Winnipeg and premier of the province of Manitoba.

In the search for health Mrs. Macdonald was compelled to spend long periods in a warmer climate, and so was unable to take any considerable part in the public life of her husband, so much of which was passed away from home in prolonged attendance on his parliamentary duties. This lack of a continuous home life was one of the disabilities against which he had to struggle throughout his earlier political career.

It was in 1844, the year after his marriage, that his opportunity came for entering political life. In September of that year, Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had been for many months trying to carry on the government with a ministry which did not command a majority in the assembly, resolved to make an appeal to the country. This event had been expected for some time and the people of Kingston had prepared for it as early as the preceding June, when an address, signed by more than two hundred of the electors, was presented to Macdonald asking him to be a candidate for the representation of the town. As the time for the election approached, this requisition was endorsed at a large gathering of the Conservative party. A few days later Macdonald issued the first of his many addresses to a Canadian constituency. One paragraph of this address is worthy of special remark, since it strikes the keynote of his future political career. "I, therefore," he says, "need scarcely state my firm belief that the prosperity of Canada depends upon its permanent connection with the mother country, and that I shall resist to the utmost any attempt (from whatever quarter it may come), which may tend to weaken that union." Thus he enunciates at his very entrance into public life the central thought around which the political activities of nearly half a century were to revolve. When the polling day arrived he was elected by an overwhelming majority, and so became the member for Kingston, a constituency which, with one short break, he represented throughout his whole public career.

There is no indication that Macdonald was fired by any strong ambition or great political ardour in first seeking a seat in the legislature. When asked long after how he came to contest the election of 1844, he said, "To fill a gap. There seemed to be no one else available, so I was pitched upon."

Sir John Thompson, his colleague for several years, and later one of his successors in the premiership, mentions that he once consulted him about a friend's coming forward at an election when there was a prospect of his having to retire at the end of a single session, and that Macdonald in giving his approval added, "Those are the terms on which I came into public life."

The passionate devotion to politics which marked his later life was a plant of slow growth. An increasing sense of public duty and the knowledge that he was necessary to his party, added to a consciousness of power to rule men, and of pleasure in the exercise of that power, were the forces which, contrary to his original intention, gradually led him on to devote his life entirely to the politics of his country. And assuredly no country ever had more need of the services of its best minds than had Canada at the time when Macdonald entered the legislature in 1844. This will be realized if we recall for a moment the number and complexity of the still unsettled problems with which the public men of the time were confronted. In the Canada of that day race was pitted against race, religion against religion. Men's minds were still inflamed by the wrongs, imaginary or real, which had produced the Rebellion of 1837, and by the passions kindled during its progress and suppression. The losses incurred during that rebellion had still in part to be dealt with, and when taken in hand for final settlement were destined to bring to a critical test the question of responsible government. The vexed and long-standing question of the Clergy Reserves embittered the public life of Upper Canada. Closely connected with this was the almost equally disputed issue of university endowment. Whether the Family Compact was the safeguard of British connection or a selfish combination working chiefly for personal ends, was a question fiercely debated on every hustings and at well-nigh every fireside. In Quebec, seigniorial tenure, a heritage from the feudal past, awaited some solution which would set the *habitant* free to enjoy the full fruits of his labour, while not inflicting an injustice on proprietors whose legal rights were undisputed. Representation according to population had not yet become a question between the two provinces, but the stream of immigration into Upper Canada, which was soon to make it a burning subject of dispute, had already begun to flow.

Behind all these large questions was one yet larger. British North America still consisted of a disjointed series of provinces; those on the Atlantic coast separated from old Canada by hundreds of miles of unbroken forests; the settlements of the Pacific still more effectually cut off from the central provinces by well-nigh two thousand miles of intervening prairie and mountains, only inhabited by the wandering Indian or the adventurous trapper. The physical isolation of the provinces was matched by the social and commercial isolation due to inadequate means of communication, separate postal systems, independent fiscal arrangements, and varying commercial laws.

Another condition, too, we are bound to note. The men who were to deal with these vast problems involving the future of half a continent had hitherto been provincial politicians, with views limited and passions concentrated by the narrow circle in which they moved. Would their range of vision widen to meet the new needs of Canadian life? Would the provincial politician merge into the national statesman?

The career of Macdonald as a public man embraced nearly half a century. To the very end of that extended period the political development of Canada was sensibly influenced by events which had happened, conditions that existed and passions which had been aroused long antecedent to the time when he entered parliament. The business of a statesman is to make the most of the circumstances in which he is placed; to utilize to the advantage of the State the forces with which he has to deal. The skill and ability with which he builds up the fortunes of his country on what has been inherited from its past; the degree in which his powers respond to the new demands made upon them, establish his place on the page of history. To understand fully the tangled skein of Canadian politics which had to be unwound between 1844 and 1867 the reader must study, as he can do in earlier volumes of this series, the complicated train of events which occurred between the conquest in 1759 and the time when Macdonald's parliamentary career began.

But if we remember that, in the settlement of many of these vital questions to which reference has been made, Macdonald took a leading part; that in constructing the systems and framing the compromises which furnished their ultimate solution, his was the guiding hand; we shall understand the long and difficult road upon which the young legislator was entering when the people of Kingston first chose him as their representative; we shall be prepared to make allowance for many a mistake, as well as for those changes of policy or conviction which come from enlarged experience; and it will be difficult not to mark with admiration that gradual widening of power which enabled him to grapple successfully with the higher problems of statesmanship.

CHAPTER II

FIRST TEN YEARS OF POLITICAL LIFE

1844 TO 1854

THE election which brought Macdonald into parliament was very distinctly connected with the struggle for the establishment of responsible government. The theory of that system, understood to have been recommended by Lord Durham, had, it was generally assumed, been accepted by the imperial government in framing the Union Act of 1840. But it proved more easy to have the principle of responsible government adopted in theory than fully carried out in practice. Even Lord Sydenham, who had been sent out to complete the work of union, found it difficult to believe that a governor-general could be responsible to the government at home and also to the legislature of the colony, but nevertheless he so far concealed his doubts as to gain credit at the time for being a true disciple of Lord Durham.

When Lord Sydenham was cut off by a premature death in September, 1841, he was succeeded by Sir Charles Bagot, under whose management progress was made in strengthening the power of the assembly. Recognizing the necessity of governing through men who enjoyed public confidence, he introduced the Reform leaders, Mr. Baldwin and Mr. LaFontaine, into the administration, though without formally placing its control in their hands. It was a serious blow to continuity of policy when Sir Charles Bagot was compelled by ill-health to resign the post of governor-general after having held it only one year. His successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, was a man of high principle and patriotic purpose, but of less tact than his two predecessors. His ideas of government had been derived chiefly from service in tropical countries, where a large dependent population was to be kept under control. In both the East and West Indies he had filled important posts and had acquitted himself with great credit. But the training thus received was not the best preparation for the duties of a constitutional ruler, and still less for inaugurating a system professedly founded on new ideas in colonial administration. While admitting that his advisers should be taken from those who commanded the confidence of parliament, he strenuously resisted the claim of his advisers that the royal patronage in the matter of appointments to office should be regarded and used as an instrument for the advancement of party interests. The result was that the Reform members of the government which he found in power, headed by Mr. Robert Baldwin and Mr. LaFontaine, resigned in the autumn of 1843 in consequence of his having appointed a certain person to a local office without their advice or consent. As the resigning ministers commanded an overwhelming majority in parliament, and as the governor-general remained fixed in his opinion that to accede to their demands would not only impair the dignity of the Crown, but lower the tone of public life, the constitutional difficulty seemed well-nigh insuperable.

The conflict which followed evoked the greatest bitterness of party feeling, and put a severe strain upon the whole system of government. The governor-general's first attempts to form a new administration failed, and for a short time he had the assistance of only a single minister, Mr. Dominick Daly. A little later he secured the powerful aid of Mr. (afterwards chief-justice) Draper, of Upper Canada, and that of Mr. Viger, representing Lower Canada. For some time the government was carried on by means of this skeleton of a regular cabinet. Meanwhile party passion was stirred to its depths throughout the country. Reformers denounced Sir Charles Metcalfe as a despot; the Conservative party acclaimed him as the upholder of the true balance of the constitution. Behind the diatribes, inspired mainly by party feeling, which pictured opponents of either side as unscrupulous or malignant, it is possible now in the cold light of history to recognize the sincerity of conviction in both parties to this great struggle. While the memories of rebellion were still fresh and its embers still smouldering —when men who had taken part in the late uprising continued to wield great popular influence, and while much doubt existed as to the motives or aims of the extreme men of the Reform party, it is little wonder that Conservatives as a whole looked to the representative of the Crown as the true safeguard of their most valued traditions, and so rallied to his support. There is a type of mind, and that not the least worthy of respect, which rates loyalty as high as liberty.

The iron of the American revolution, from which they or their fathers had suffered so much, rankled in the hearts of the United Empire Loyalists, and they dreaded, more than anything else, a repetition in their new country of what had taken place in the old colonies. On the other hand, the constitutional argument of the Reformers was sound and their ideal inspiring. In their ranks were men whose ability was combined with genuine sincerity of purpose. In the end they triumphed, but they would have triumphed more speedily had not the violence of followers thrown doubt upon the loyalty of their purpose. The one redeeming feature in this great struggle lay in the fact that it compelled the combatants to clearly think out their political principles.

For almost nine months Sir Charles Metcalfe carried on the government with the few ministers who were found willing to take office without adequate support in the legislature. Then, in the autumn of 1844, having watched the development of opinion in Western Canada and judging the moment favourable, he determined to appeal to the people. After a bitterly contested struggle it was found when the smoke of battle had cleared away that, notwithstanding the almost solid opposition of the French-Canadians, the governor and his administration had been supported by a small majority.

The new parliament, of which Macdonald was now a member, met in Montreal on November 28th, 1844. Although Lord Metcalfe and his administration had been sustained in the election, the division of parties was so close in the first session that, even on critical questions, ministers only maintained themselves in power by a majority of six votes at the utmost, and often less. The principal parties themselves were divided into groups which rendered still more unstable this balance of power. Already could be seen approaching the shadow of that deadlock which was later to hasten the development of Canadian institutions. The atmosphere in which the young politician moved was one of the utmost uncertainty; one in which personal jealousies, racial prejudices and the clash of conflicting political theories combined to create a situation from which it was difficult to say what might emerge.

In reality it was a period of transition. Old conceptions of government were slowly dying—new ones were struggling towards birth. The imperial parliament, as has been said before, had recognized the theory of responsible government; yet the representatives of the Crown hesitated to give it full play. Subsequent events appear to indicate that this hesitation was a mistake, but there was much to excuse it. The memory of 1837, the year which saw treasonable utterances followed by treasonable acts, was still fresh in men's minds. It was kept fresh by the reckless expressions of extreme men in the Reform party by which doubt was cast upon the high aims of the leaders of the party, themselves loyal men, such as LaFontaine and Baldwin. The high-handed course, as many regarded it, of Sir Charles Metcalfe, in neglecting the advice of his constitutional advisers, and afterwards in governing the country by a ministry which did not possess the confidence of parliament, could only be justified on the ground of necessity; but the popular vote which followed his appeal to the people showed that a large section of the community, and of that portion of it particularly which was most interested in political problems as such, felt that arbitrary government was not the only danger that might threaten the State. It seemed that party, drawing everything to itself and using the patronage of the Crown for the solidifying of its power, might in the end prove a more conscienceless and far more costly tyranny than any that could reasonably be apprehended from a personal governor. To many the real question of the hour appeared to be whether enough time had elapsed since the Rebellion of 1837 to justify the application in its fullest sense of the principle of responsible government.

Macdonald's election address, as already mentioned, lays special stress on the maintenance of the imperial connection. That it was threatened from different quarters, as he suggests, is evident from the records of the time. A small wing of the Reform party favoured annexation to the United States; another advocated an independent republic; a section of the French population remained irreconcilable in its objection to British rule. Under the circumstances we cannot wonder that, whatever principles of government were alleged to be at stake, there were those who made it their first duty to stand by the queen's representative.

The Conservative government which Macdonald had been elected to support was not only without a large majority in the legislature, but was not in itself strong. Its guiding spirit and ablest member, Mr. W. H. Draper, was in the Upper House. The ministers who had seats in the Lower House had not learned the necessity for united action and mutual support, and not infrequently were found opposing each other in debate and even in divisions. So great was the consequent party disorganization that Mr. Draper was finally compelled to resign his place in the council and seek a seat in the assembly, in order that he might exercise more effective leadership. Even there his task was scarcely less difficult. The French representatives of Lower Canada were combined with the Radicals of Upper Canada in opposition. One event of the session is noteworthy as illustrating the shifts to which parties were driven to maintain their position. The Union Act of 1840 provided that all the proceedings of the legislature should be printed in the English language only. This was felt to be a hardship by Lower Canadians, few of whom knew any language but French. In order to strengthen their French alliance, the Radicals of Upper Canada had planned to propose the removal of this restriction, counting upon getting the credit for the change if the motion were carried, or on having a cry against the government should it oppose the motion. In some way the Opposition plan leaked out, and ministers prepared with the utmost secrecy to cut the ground from under their feet by bringing in the proposal as a government measure. This they did, much to the surprise and chagrin of their opponents.

For three sessions the Draper government managed, though with frequent cabinet changes, to hold its own. During this time Lord Metcalfe, to give him the title bestowed upon him in 1845, had resigned, worn out by the terrible disease from which he had long suffered. He left Canada in

November of that year, and was succeeded for a short period by Lord Cathcart, commander-in-chief of the forces in Canada.

For the first few sessions Macdonald took little part in the discussions of the legislature. "Scarcely five speeches in five sessions" was his own account of himself. It would seem that he had no inclination to take a leading part in the fierce political frays by which this period was distinguished, but preferred to feel his way towards some solid ground of political conduct. One who remembered him in those days describes him, amid the disputes going on around him, as "looking half careless and half contemptuous. Sometimes in the thick of the *mêlée* he was busy in and out of the library. I scarce ever remember then seeing him about the House that he was not searching up some case either then impending or to come up at a later date. He was for a great part of his time, too, buried in a study of constitutional history." His example of speaking little, but quietly making himself familiar with parliamentary forms and business, and establishing a position for himself by assiduous attention to the ordinary duties of a member, may well be recommended to young members fresh from the excitement of the hustings, and inclined to attach an exaggerated value to their own parliamentary utterances. How strong a position he was making for himself soon became apparent.

At the close of the session of 1846 we find Mr. Draper advising the governor-general that reconstruction of the ministry is necessary, giving as a reason the lack of loyalty and steady support on the part of some of his most prominent colleagues during the previous sessions. In his difficulty he turns to Macdonald as one already able to assist him in an exceptional way and recommends him to the governor-general, Lord Cathcart, for office in the following terms:—

"In reference to the situation of commissioner of Crown lands, Mr. Draper humbly submits that a man of activity of mind, and familiar with business details, is imperatively required in the department. Mr. Draper would think a great advantage gained if Mr. J. A. Macdonald, the member for Kingston, would take the office."

In his reply the governor-general says that he "has a very high opinion of Mr. J. A. Macdonald, and his appointment to office in the administration would afford him much satisfaction." This correspondence took place in June, 1846, but circumstances intervened to prevent the immediate carrying out of the proposal thus made.

Soon after the arrival of Lord Elgin, early in 1847, Mr. Draper writes to urge the young member to come to Montreal in order that the new governor may hear "from others than executive councillors the state of parties," and expressing complete confidence in his "judgment and discretion." It is extremely significant, and interesting also, to find that he looks to Macdonald's presence to counteract in Lord Elgin "the feelings of distrust that mistaking ultra-Toryism for Conservatism (i.e. selfishness for patriotism) might give rise to." The distinction here drawn seems to prove conclusively that neither Draper nor Macdonald, Conservatives though they certainly were, sympathized with the political creed of the so-called Family Compact. If further proof were needed it is found in a letter of May 6th, 1847, from the Hon. W. Morris, urging him not to refuse the office of receiver-general. Mr. Morris says, . . . "If you will not put your shoulder to the wheel, you assist those who, it may be, desire to regain power which you and I helped to deprive them of: I mean the 'family.'"

The correspondence at this period indicates clearly that Macdonald was in no hurry to gain a place in the ministry, but only took office finally as a matter of public duty. He became receiver-general in May, 1847, and so began the official career which was destined to continue so long. In the general reconstruction of the government which took place at this time, Mr. Draper, who through these critical years had acted as its acknowledged head, accepted a judgeship and withdrew from public life. The great abilities and lofty character which had enabled him to conduct the affairs of the country through a peculiarly trying period, continued to dignify his career upon the bench, where he attained and held until his death the position of chief-justice. The fact that such a man, not extreme in his Conservative views, devoted to the interests of his country and with the highest personal sense of honour, should have given steady support to Sir Charles Metcalfe through the stormy period of his rule, proves that the political arguments of the day were not all on one side, as certain writers have been disposed to represent them.

Mr. Henry Sherwood succeeded to the nominal leadership of the party, as a concession to its extreme Tory wing. The reconstructed ministry, known as the Sherwood-Daly government, had but a short life. Two critical questions chiefly absorbed its attention. The first was that of university endowment, then as keenly disputed a question as even that of the Clergy Reserves. Macdonald himself believed that the defeat of the government in the coming elections was certain unless this difficulty could be settled. Writing to Mr. Morris on May 9th, 1847, when accepting the office of receiver-general, he adds: "I suppose Mr. Draper will, whatever happens, remain in the ministry till the end of the session; and it appears to me that, with him in the House of Assembly, and yourself in the L. C., some disposition of the university question might be made, which would be satisfactory to the country, and at the same time remove a great stumbling block from our path. Many questions of more real importance may arise, but none which operates more strongly on the principles or prejudices of the public, and if the Conservatives hope to retain power, they must settle it before the general election."

His idea of a satisfactory settlement was then, as so often in later life with respect to other questions, conceived in a large spirit of compromise, and he succeeded in impressing his views upon his colleagues. The administration proposed to take over King's College, hitherto controlled entirely by the Church of England, and, in founding a university, to subsidize the Church of England college to the extent of £3,000 a year; and the Presbyterian College at Kingston, the Roman Catholic College at the same place and the Wesleyan College at Cobourg each with half that sum annually. This proposal was satisfactory to the Presbyterians, Roman Catholics and Methodists, and was at first accepted by Dr. Strachan, then at the head of King's College, as a reasonable compromise. Macdonald accordingly introduced a bill to give effect to the scheme, but at the last moment Dr. Strachan withdrew his consent and the bill was dropped. The position of the government was greatly weakened by this inability to carry out its own policy.

Macdonald always attributed to the obstinacy of Dr. Strachan the serious results for the Church of England, as well as for the government, which followed upon the failure of this measure. On the overthrow of the government and the accession to power of the Reform party under Mr. Baldwin and Mr. LaFontaine, King's College and its property were secularized, becoming the University of Toronto; and Dr. Strachan was compelled to raise with painful effort the means for founding a new Anglican university. That the University of Trinity College has fully justified its existence few will doubt, but it may fairly be questioned whether the Church would not have gained in power, without the sacrifice of principle, if it had accepted at this critical time the guidance of the practical politician rather than that of the unyielding cleric.

The spirit of reasonable compromise has now, after the lapse of more than half a century, prevailed, and the fact that the goal of a great university for Ontario with affiliated denominational colleges, has at length been reached, appears to prove the wisdom of Macdonald's policy in 1847.

In Lower Canada the outlook for the Conservative party was even worse. There the complicated question of compensation for losses incurred during the rebellion had become of paramount interest, and had made the French voters almost a unit in opposition to a ministry which was not prepared to meet their demands.

The result was that when the dissolution came in the last days of 1847, the government to which Macdonald belonged met with overwhelming defeat at the polls, though he himself secured his seat at Kingston. The Conservative party, shattered by its own divisions and without any leader with the capacity to organize and hold it together, went into opposition with an exceedingly dreary outlook. Several years were to elapse before the organizing ability and political genius of one of its youngest members were to give it new cohesion and new vitality.

Meanwhile, in opposition and associated with an unpopular party, he was to receive the discipline of patience, self-control and careful study of political principles and popular opinion, on which alone great parliamentary capacity and success can be established. Through the tedious years of party strife and intrigue which followed, Macdonald often thought of withdrawing from political life. A flood of light is thrown upon his attitude of mind by a letter written to him by his friend, Alexander Campbell, in March, 1855, and printed in Mr. Pope's memoirs of his chief. Speaking with all the intimacy of private friendship, Campbell says: "You will remember that throughout your long apparently hopeless opposition I always deprecated your retirement from parliament, as you often threatened to do. . . You were never so desponding as to prospects political as before and during the last canvass and election here. The disgusting electioneering arts you felt compelled to resort to, the defeat of many of your schemes as to candidates, the defection of some who promised to stand . . . the defeat at the polls of many others . . . all these influenced you . . . do you recollect? 'The party is nowhere—damned everlastingly. I will go down and get the Bank Bill passed and retire. I am resolved upon it.' And now you rule Canada; what a change!" Macdonald at this date held the position of attorney-general west in the government of Sir Allan MacNab, and was generally recognized as the most important man in the cabinet.

The Reform party came into power in February, 1848, with the support of every French constituency in Quebec and a smaller but sufficient majority from Upper Canada. With Mr. LaFontaine as leader from the Lower Province and Mr. Baldwin from the Upper, an administration was formed which continued in office for more than three years. That period proved a turning-point not only in Canadian, but in all colonial history. Four years before, under Lord Metcalfe, the two leaders had, as we have seen, resigned office on a question which they believed to involve the essential principle of responsible government. Now they returned to office, not merely with the endorsement of the popular vote but with a governor-general at the head of affairs who was bent upon giving their party a fair trial. Lord Elgin had come to his post with a fixed determination, the result of mature deliberation, to put into practice, without reservation of any kind, the principle of responsible government, that is, to be guided in his administration of the country by the will of the people as expressed through a majority in the legislature. Before leaving England he had carefully discussed the whole question with the colonial secretary, Lord Grey, who had shown him the despatch sent to Sir John Harvey, then governor of Nova Scotia, in which the operation of the principle was clearly and exhaustively considered.[1]

To Lord Elgin the empire owes a peculiar debt of gratitude for having finally established this great principle, which harmonizes colonial autonomy with an imperial system. But in accomplishing this task his resolution was subjected to a test under which the courage and endurance of a weaker man would have broken down. One of the first acts of the new administration was to bring in what was known as the Rebellion Losses Bill. To understand the situation created by the introduction of that bill the antecedent circumstances must be recalled.

The rebellion in both provinces had been put down in 1838; Lord Durham's report had been made in 1839; the Act of Union was put into effect on February 10th, 1841. Soon after the provinces were united, an Act had been passed to provide compensation "to certain loyal inhabitants who had suffered losses by the destruction of property at the hands of the rebels during the suppression of the rebellion." This Act was at first only applied to losses incurred in Upper Canada, and the funds were supplied exclusively from Upper Canadian sources.

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[1] See note on page 47.

In Lower Canada the special council also made, by ordinance, partial provision for recompensing Loyalists for property destroyed by rebels. But under neither of these arrangements was provision made for compensating those whose property had been either purposely or incidentally destroyed by the authorities who were engaged in suppressing the rebellion. An Act, passed immediately after the union in 1841, extended the right of compensation to these cases, but only in Upper Canada. No move was made to deal with the claims in Lower Canada till February, 1845, when the assembly passed an address to the governor-general, Sir Charles Metcalfe, asking that means should be taken "in order to insure to the inhabitants of that part of the province formerly Lower Canada, indemnity for just losses during the rebellion of 1837 and 1838." Commissioners were accordingly appointed with instructions "to enquire into the losses sustained by Her Majesty's loyal subjects, in that part of the province of Canada which formerly constituted the province of Lower Canada, during the late unnatural rebellion. . . . and arising and growing out of the said rebellion." Distinction was here made between those who had aided the rebellion and those who had not. On applying for more particular instructions from the governor-general as to the methods of making this distinction the commissioners were told that it was not His Excellency's intention that the commissioners should be guided by any other description of evidence than that furnished by the courts of law. The commission reported in 1846, presenting a list of 2,176 applicants for compensation who claimed £241,965 in all. The opinion was added that many of these claims were inadmissible, and that £100,000 would be sufficient to meet all that were reasonable. Many of the applications for extravagant compensation were made by persons deeply engaged in the rebellion. The Draper government which had appointed the commission, apparently to conciliate French feeling, took no action on this report, and the matter was allowed to drift. The opportunity thus given to their opponents to hold out the hope of compensation as a lure to the French voters of Lower Canada greatly contributed to the success of the Reform party in 1848. The new ministry was bound to realize the expectation of its followers, and so the famous Rebellion Losses Bill was duly presented to the legislature. The Act proposed to extend compensation to the Lower Province, and to all sufferers except persons actually convicted of high treason, or those who, on their own confession of rebellion, had been transported to Bermuda and consequently had no sentence standing against them. The great majority of the rebels had never been brought to trial; and so loyal men who had risked their lives and made the greatest sacrifices to crush the rebellion had now to face the possibility of paying to a large number of rebels what seemed to them a public reward for disloyalty. On the other hand the government, and later the governor-general, took the ground that the action of the Draper administration had made this further step inevitable. The proposal was fiercely debated in the legislature, and still more fiercely throughout the country. Macdonald took an active part in opposing the bill, denouncing it as shameful in principle, protesting against the introduction of so important a measure without full notice, and also against the unseemly haste with which it was pushed through the legislature without adequate explanation of the real intentions of the government. So vehement was the discussion, and so strongly personal the language used in debate, that Macdonald sent a hostile message to Solicitor-general Blake, for which he was promptly taken into custody by the sergeant-at-arms. Finally by a vote of forty-seven to eighteen the bill passed the Lower House, while in the legislative council the division stood twenty to eighteen.

All eyes were now turned upon the governor-general in whose power it was to assent to the bill, reserve it for the consideration of the imperial government, or, refusing assent, to dissolve parliament in order to secure a direct popular decision upon the question. Lord Elgin weighed these alternatives with the utmost care. About the actual merits of the bill he did not feel called upon to decide; indeed he is said to have described it as "a questionable measure." In his eyes the real issue was the constitutional one. Was a parliamentary majority to be recognized as expressing the will of the people?

An analysis of the vote showed that there was a majority in favour of the bill in both provinces, which, considering the constitution of the assembly and the solidarity of interest existing between the government and its supporters was not surprising. In Upper Canada out of thirty-one who voted on the third reading seventeen were for and fourteen against; in Lower Canada the French vote was a unit, which of itself gave a decisive majority, while of the ten members of British birth six voted for and four against the bill. A more conclusive test case in constitutional government cannot well be imagined. But people were not calmly considering the matter from a constitutional point of view. Even before the bill had been passed petitions had poured in from every side praying for its reservation or for a dissolution. Lord Elgin was convinced, rightly or wrongly, that there was not the slightest prospect of a new election changing the balance of parties. He thought it would be pusillanimous in himself to adopt the alternative course of reservation, since he would thus be throwing upon the imperial government a responsibility which it was his own business as governor-general to assume. So, after mature consideration, he came down to parliament and gave his consent to the bill. Everybody was aware that the political atmosphere was in a high state of tension, but no one foresaw the violence of the storm which now burst upon the head of the governor-general. His carriage was pelted as he left the parliament buildings; on the same night the buildings themselves, with the valuable records which they contained, were destroyed by fire—the work of an infuriated mob. The riots continued for several days, and much additional damage was done. The governor-general, though attacked and insulted a second time when he entered the city to receive an address of confidence and sympathy from the legislative body, resolutely declined military protection, declared that no drop of blood should be shed in giving him protection, and patiently awaited the justification of his course which time was to bring. The common sense of the people soon began to reassert itself, and addresses sent from many parts of the country showed Lord Elgin that he had the support of a large body of the electors. Responsible government had in a very real sense received its baptism of fire and stood the test.

Two or three significant results of this reprehensible and disastrous outbreak are to be recorded. In the first place Montreal ceased to be the seat of government. It was generally conceded that it would be wrong to subject the executive and parliament to further risk of being exposed to such outrages. Another troublesome question was thus introduced into the politics of the country. The keenest rivalry at once arose among the other Canadian cities to gain the place which Montreal had forfeited. Kingston had for over three years after the union been the capital, and Macdonald as its representative now made vigorous efforts to have the old dignity restored. The greater influence of Quebec and Toronto prevailed, but so keen was the struggle between these two centres that it was found necessary to divide the honour, and for sixteen years the sessions of parliament shifted at intervals of four years from one to the other. This inconvenient and costly arrangement which, however, may have had some indirect advantages in enlarging the views and diminishing the prejudices of the members of the legislature, lasted till the year 1865, when the seat of government was finally removed to Ottawa.

The excitement of the public mind outlasted the days of riot, and the tide of popular passion found outlets for itself in two widely different directions. A considerable number of the leading citizens of Montreal, influenced partly by what they considered the disastrous legislation lately passed—partly by the extreme commercial depression then prevailing throughout the country in consequence of England's adoption of a free trade policy, which deprived them of the preference in British markets to which they had been accustomed—issued a manifesto in which was advocated a friendly separation from the mother country and annexation to the United States. The men who signed this manifesto had mostly been the strictest Loyalists in the dark days of rebellion; many of them became in later life the vigorous champions of imperial connection; and so this famous document must be looked upon rather as an outbreak of petulance under provocation and excitement than as the serious purpose of men who had carefully thought out the situation. Strongly as Macdonald had felt in regard to the recent course of events, he refused to join in this annexation declaration, though pressed to do so, and though many of his political associates were concerned in it. On the other hand, a saner movement, which looked to constructive statesmanship as a remedy for the ills from which the country suffered, enlisted his entire sympathy. The British American League was formed in Montreal, and soon branches were established in many parts of the country. Permanent connection with the mother country, the union of all the North American colonies, protection to home industries, and economy in public expenditure were the chief features in the policy of the League, as the first three, at least, subsequently became the distinctive aims of the great party which Macdonald led. The new association formed a safety valve for the effervescence of the time; discussion of public questions on a more rational basis went on; and it was not long before all thought of annexation, even in Montreal, had entirely died away.

The commissioners appointed under the Rebellion Losses Act carried out their work with strict moderation, and without recognizing the extravagant claims of those who had taken part in the rebellion. The government was severely blamed for not making its policy clear in this regard and not taking steps to guard against the threatened riot. Lord Elgin soon after made a tour through Upper Canada, and received many proofs that, however much the course of the government was criticized, the sober second judgment of the people endorsed the position which he had taken. It is of interest to note that when the subject of the Rebellion Losses Bill came up for consideration in the British parliament, the division of opinion was almost as striking there as in Canada itself. Lord Lyndhurst came down to the House of Lords at the close of his great career to denounce the bill as placing a premium upon disloyalty, and he was supported in this view by the fiery eloquence of Lord Brougham. The same attitude was taken in the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone and other conspicuous members of parliament, but the government of the day, led by Lord John Russell, steadily supported the action of Lord Elgin and bestowed on him decisive marks of approval.

There is evidence that in this fierce conflict of opinion Macdonald acted as a moderating force. One of the many meetings to protest against the bill and against the action of the governor-general was held in his own constituency of Kingston. The resolutions passed and the speeches made on this occasion have been collected from the press reports of the time. The resolutions were strong; the speeches vehement and uncompromising. But it was only towards the close of the meeting that Macdonald, who had hitherto taken no part in the proceedings, came forward in response to a general demand for a speech. He said that he had been listening carefully to the discussion in order that, as their representative, he might hear the free expression of their opinion upon the state of the country rather than to prescribe any particular course to them. While expressing his general agreement with the terms of the resolutions and the sentiments of the speakers, he directed his remarks chiefly to an arraignment of the general policy of the government. If we remember that in later life he reckoned among the members of cabinets which served under him men who had taken a prominent part in the Rebellion of 1837, and at the same time men who had signed the annexation manifesto of 1849, we can understand what his moderating and conciliating influence had yet to accomplish. In 1840 Lord Sydenham had written: "I am satisfied that the mass of the people are sound—moderate in their demands, and attached to British institutions—but they have been oppressed by a miserable little oligarchy on the one hand and excited by a few factious demagogues on the other. I can make a middle reforming party, I feel sure, which will put down both." What was a hope and an aspiration in Lord Sydenham, Macdonald was to translate into fact.

The remark that "Canada is a difficult country to govern" has often been attributed to him. His glory is that he made the task less difficult by peaceful means. France was a hard country to govern when Catholic and Huguenot faced each other—arms in hand—in almost every city and province, and met on many a battlefield. Blood flowed like water in those earlier days before solution was found for the troubles of the State. All honour to Macdonald, Cartier and the statesmen of Canada who, confronted with equal divergence of religious conviction, and equal vehemence of political passion, were yet able to reconcile the conflicting elements, and, without the shedding of blood, to make it possible for two races to live side by side in harmony, and for two forms of religious belief to be fair to one another.

The Reform party had come into power in 1848 with an overwhelming majority, but as has often happened in parallel cases, lines of cleavage soon began to appear. In passing the Rebellion Losses Bill and in successfully asserting the theory of responsible government, the reforming energy of the leading spirits of the party had largely spent itself. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the exercise of power had deepened in them the sense of responsibility. Certain it is that Mr. Baldwin and Mr. LaFontaine, taught moderation possibly by the violence of the agitation through which the country had passed, declined to push forward other measures which the more extreme followers of their party considered essential reforms. One more Act of importance, however, was passed in the session of 1849. Mr. Baldwin introduced a bill which abolished the faculty of theology in King's College, and by amending the charter created the University of Toronto as an institution of secular learning alone. Macdonald opposed this measure, and again brought forward, as an alternative solution of the question, his plan of 1847, which provided for the concurrent endowment of the denominational colleges. With the large majority behind him Mr. Baldwin had no difficulty in carrying his measure.

In 1850 the prosperity of the country, which had been greatly checked by the loss of a preference in British markets consequent on the adoption of a free trade policy, began to revive. It was an era of railway building, and in this work the government assisted not without energy. In 1849 the negotiations had been begun which, after many years and many mishaps, ended in the construction of the Grand Trunk and finally the Intercolonial Railway. In 1851 a steamship service between Canada and Great Britain was subsidized. In 1854, largely through the tact of Lord Elgin, a treaty of reciprocity in natural products was entered into with the United States, and proved of great value to both countries. By this treaty questions which afterwards became dominating factors in Canadian politics were held in abeyance for several years.

But while Canada revived and was in great measure transformed by these improvements, the political difficulties of the government increased daily. Two important sections of their followers split off. The breath of the revolution of 1848 had blown upon Lower Canada, and a band of brilliant young men, led by Antoine Dorion, clustered around the veteran Papineau in a desperate conflict against the almost unlimited political domination of the priesthood. In the policy of this *Parti Rouge*, as they came to be known, there was much that was noble, and not a little that was chimerical. The story of their endeavours is told at length in Mr. Willison's *Life of Sir Wilfrid Laurier*. It is enough to say here that those who survived came out of the battle shorn of all that was chimerical, and perhaps something of what was noble.

In Upper Canada the same struggle against clerical influence had much to do with creating what became known as the Clear Grit party. The early platform of this party was in part directed to reasonable reforms—in part to what was almost revolutionary. While it embodied much justified resistance to privilege, the movement in Ontario soon assumed a religious and racial aspect which aroused the keenest animosities. The opponents of the Clear Grits were soon able to fasten on them the epithets of "anti-Catholic" and "anti-French." On the one hand this prevented them from full fraternization with the *Rouges* of Quebec; on the other, even the modified alliance which was maintained handicapped still more seriously Dorion and his followers, by enabling the clericals to accuse them of hostility not only to their religion but to the liberties and privileges of their native province.

But it was not merely by internal divisions that the Reform party was weakened. Early in 1851 Mr. Baldwin resigned, nominally in consequence of a vote of the Ontario members in the legislature favouring the abolition of the Court of Chancery which he had established; really, in all probability, because he found himself out of sympathy with a large section of his party. Later in the year Mr. LaFontaine accepted a seat on the bench. They had achieved the great constitutional ends for which they had laboured. They could no longer satisfy their extreme followers. They perhaps did not feel themselves the men to carry out the policy of railway construction which was becoming necessary. The Liberal government was therefore reorganized towards the close of the year 1851, under Mr. (afterwards Sir Francis) Hincks, an able and eminently practical financier, and Mr. A. N. Morin, and became known as the Hincks-Morin administration. But Morin refused to conciliate the *Rouges* and Hincks proved too moderate for the Grits. Amid ever-increasing difficulties they struggled on till September, 1854, when they were defeated on a technicality and resigned. The real cause of their downfall was the question, at once religious and political, of the Clergy Reserves. The history of this question, of the men and circumstances which forced it to the front, and of its solution must be dealt with in a separate chapter.

NOTE—See page 33.

It is well to remember that it was not in Canada or by Canadians alone that the principles of responsible government were in those critical days being thought out. Never perhaps have they been more accurately stated than in the despatch here referred to.

Sir John Harvey had asked for definite direction at a constitutional crisis when vacancies in a weak executive council were to be filled up. Lord Grey's reply, under date November 3rd, 1846, shows the clear guidance that came from Downing Street itself to support those working for true responsible government. He says:—

"I am of opinion that under all the circumstances of the case, the best course for you to adopt is to call upon the members of your present executive council to propose to you the names of the gentlemen whom they would recommend to supply the vacancies which I understand to exist in the present board. If they should be successful in submitting to you an arrangement to which no valid objection arises, you will of course continue to carry on the government through them, so long as it may be possible to do so satisfactorily, and as they possess the necessary support from the legislature. Should the present council fail in proposing to you an arrangement which it would be proper for you to accept, it would then be your natural course, in conformity with the practice in analogous cases in this country, to apply to the opposite party; and should you be able, through their assistance, to form a satisfactory council, there will be no impropriety in dissolving the assembly upon their advice; such a measure, under those circumstances, being the only mode of escaping from the difficulty, which would otherwise exist, of carrying on the government of the province upon the principles of the constitution. The object with which I recommend to you this course, is that of making it apparent that any transfer which may take place of political power from the hands of one party in the province to those of another, is the result, not of an act of yours, but of the wishes of the people themselves, as shown by the difficulty experienced by the retiring party in carrying on the government of the province according to the forms of the constitution. To this I attach great importance; I have therefore to instruct you to abstain from changing your executive council until it shall become perfectly clear that they are unable, with such fair support from yourself as they have a right to expect, to carry on the government of the province satisfactorily, and command the confidence of the legislature.

"Of whatever party your council may be composed, it will be your duty to act strictly upon the principle you have yourself laid down in the memorandum delivered to the gentlemen with whom you have communicated,—that, namely, of not identifying yourself with any party but, instead of this, making yourself both a mediator and a moderator between the influential of all parties.

"In giving, therefore, all fair and proper support to your council for the time being, you will carefully avoid any acts which can possibly be supposed to imply the slightest personal objection to their opponents, and also refuse to assent to any measures which may be proposed to you by your council which may appear to you to involve an improper exercise of the authority of the Crown for party rather than for public objects. In exercising, however, this power of refusing to sanction measures which may be submitted to you by your council, you must recollect that this power of opposing a check upon extreme measures proposed by the party for the time in the government, depends entirely for its efficacy upon its being used sparingly and with the greatest possible discretion. A refusal to accept advice tendered to you by your council is a legitimate ground for its members to tender you their resignation,—a course they would doubtless adopt should they feel that the subject on which a difference had arisen between you and themselves was one upon which public opinion would be in their favour. Should it prove to be so, concession to their views must sooner or later become inevitable, since it cannot be too distinctly acknowledged that it is neither possible nor desirable to carry on the government of any of the British provinces in North America in opposition to the opinion of the inhabitants.

"Clearly understanding, therefore, that refusing to accede to the advice of your council for the time being, upon a point upon which they consider it their duty to insist, must lead to the question at issue being brought ultimately under the decision of public opinion, you will carefully avoid allowing any matter not of very grave concern, or upon which you cannot reasonably calculate upon being in the end supported by that opinion, to be made a subject of such a difference. And if, unfortunately, such a difference should arise, you will take equal care that its cause and the grounds of your own decision are made clearly to appear in written documents capable of being publicly quoted.

"The adoption of this principle of action by no means involves the necessity of a blind obedience to the wishes and opinions of the members of your council; on the contrary, I have no doubt that, if they see clearly that your conduct is guided, not by personal favour to any particular men or party, but by a sincere desire to promote the public good, your objections to any measures proposed will have great weight with the council, or, should they prove unreasonable, with the assembly, or, in last resort, with the public.

"Such are the general principles upon which the constitution granted to the North American colonies render it necessary that their government should be conducted It is, however, I am well aware, far easier to lay down these general principles than to determine in any particular case what is that line of conduct which an adherence to them should prescribe. In this, your own judgment and a careful consideration of the circumstances in which you are placed must be your guide; and I have only, in conclusion, to assure you that Her Majesty will always be anxious to put the most favourable construction upon your conduct, in the discharge of the arduous duties imposed upon you by the high situation you hold in her service."

CHAPTER III

THE CLERGY RESERVES AND SEIGNIORIAL TENURE

THE COALITION OF 1854

THE vote which led the Hincks-Morin government to resign in September, 1854, stood sixty-one to forty-six, but a closer analysis of the composition of the legislature showed that, of one hundred and thirty members, the defeated cabinet could claim fifty-five, the Conservative opposition forty, the Clear Grits and *Rouges* combined thirty-five.

While the government had been defeated, neither of the parties which had brought about the defeat was able to take its place. Coalition in some form was manifestly a necessity, if the queen's government was to be carried on. But coalition means compromise, and to some of the parties to the struggle anything like compromise presented almost insuperable difficulties. It might almost be said that the political situation at this time was dominated by the temperament of two men, Macdonald and George Brown. The latter had gradually come to be regarded as Macdonald's great antagonist in the public life of Canada. His figure is one of the largest in Canadian history. In Canadian politics his influence was for a long time only second, if second, to that of Macdonald himself. As a force in creating the public opinion on which reforms are based, he has strong claims to be reckoned in the first place. Like Macdonald, he was of Scottish birth. He was twenty-six years of age when, in 1844, the same year in which Macdonald entered parliament, he came to Canada, where soon after with his father he founded the *Globe* newspaper, with which his name will always be associated. The immense influence which George Brown long wielded in Upper Canada was won primarily as a journalist. Later he became a force in the legislature, though his parliamentary career was somewhat broken and erratic, partly through electoral defeats, partly through the difficulty he had in working with other men.

A man of intense convictions, a trenchant political writer, a vehement and powerful, though rather ungraceful, speaker, a thoroughly loyal British subject and a man devoted to the highest interests of his adopted country, his influence and success were somewhat marred by a domineering spirit and an uncompromising disposition which made little allowance for the opinions, the prejudices or the foibles of those with whom he had to deal. The real goodness of his heart and the earnestness of his purpose scarcely atoned at times for the bitterness of his polemics, which accentuated animosities and even alienated friends. As the vehement opponent of privilege and the untiring advocate of reform his record is unique in Canadian politics. He was deficient, however, in some of the qualities essential to a great leader of men.

The art of popular government has ever rested in a spirit of compromise, and never was this spirit more necessary than in the transition period of Canadian history. But compromise was a word not found in George Brown's vocabulary. He strained a principle to the breaking point—to a point where enemies were embittered and friends alienated. The note of personal antagonism and conflicting ambitions which marked the relations of the two men was largely the outcome of character. Brown's judgment was frequently warped by passion—while Macdonald was usually able to subject personal feeling to policy. Brown would have characterized Macdonald's compromising disposition as lack of fixed principle; while Macdonald no doubt considered that Brown's vehement and violent methods indicated lack of that common sense and knowledge of human nature necessary to successful statesmanship. There is a world of illumination thrown upon the history of the two men by the fact that of Macdonald's principal opponents at various stages of his career the majority became, sooner or later, his colleagues or supporters; that sooner or later George Brown found himself in opposition to most of those with whom he had at some time coöperated. Both men were patriots of whom Canada may be proud, and both were necessary to the country: the one to initiate and urge forward reforms, the other to reconcile opposing forces so as to make reforms possible in legislation. In the long political contest between them Macdonald won. In one of his poems Sir Walter Scott describes a conflict between a Lowland prince of trained skill and a Highland chieftain of blind but unflinching courage, ending in the victory of the former. In the rivalry between Macdonald and Brown these conditions were reversed. The skilful, adroit and restrained Highlander, with every faculty under control, proved more than a match for the furious onset of the Lowlander, armed though the latter usually was with a good cause and good intentions.

When the Clear Grit party first began to look upon itself and be regarded by others as a distinct political group, it met with George Brown's opposition. But as the reforming energy of the Liberal administration abated, Brown's impatience with his old friends gradually became more pronounced, and soon he was not merely opposing the Liberal leaders more vehemently than the Conservatives themselves, but was steadily moving towards the leadership of the Clear Grit party. Convinced that French and Roman Catholic influence was the cause of the government's hesitation, he proceeded to denounce with the utmost vehemence and in the most sweeping terms the racial ideals and the religious system of the people of Quebec. In a country inhabited by two races enjoying equal rights and entitled to equal freedom of opinion, such a course would be a mistake at any time. From the point of view of a man aspiring to political leadership in Canada, the mistake at the moment was fatal. The full strength of the Liberal party in both provinces was needed to form a government which could command a majority in the House; and Brown had made it practically impossible for any French-Canadian party to work with him, or for French members to support him without endangering their own seats in parliament.

Thus it was that when, largely through his untiring energy and fixed resolution, the question of the Clergy Reserves had been brought in Upper Canada to the verge of settlement, others than he were called in to complete the business. That question had long vexed Canadian politics; it had run like a thread through every electoral struggle since Macdonald had entered parliament and George Brown had started on his journalistic career; and the consideration of its nature and history, delayed so far for the sake of greater unity of treatment, must now be briefly dealt with before proceeding to the solution which finally removed it from the sphere of party conflict.

By a clause in the Act of 1791 which constituted the two provinces of Upper and Lower

Canada it was provided that, in granting allotments to settlers, other lands "equal in value to the seventh part of the lands so granted should be set apart for the support of a 'Protestant Clergy.'" This legislation, intended to give assurance that religious and moral training should go hand in hand with material development, seemed a singularly propitious start for a new country, but it proved in the end the most fruitful source of political strife that the colony had ever known. The Reserves were claimed at first for the exclusive use of the Anglican Church, and for a time this claim was not questioned. But the Church of Scotland began, in 1822, to assert its right to a proportion of the endowment, on the ground that it was recognized in the Act of Union between England and Scotland as an Established Protestant Church. Other denominations claimed at a later period that they too should have a share, arguing that the intention of the Act was only to exclude the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church from the benefit of the endowment. The acrimony of the dispute was increased by the fact that these reserved lands, scattered through every township, and remaining for the most part uncleared, untilled and untaxed, had grown to be one of the greatest drawbacks to the progress of settlement and the general improvement of the country.

No doubt the clauses of the Constitutional Act creating the Clergy Reserves had been framed and enacted with the most praiseworthy motives. The desire to make religious training a part of education has been a compelling influence amongst almost all Christian bodies in the later as well as the earlier history of Canada. The strenuous and self-sacrificing efforts made by Roman Catholics, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and other Christian organizations to establish institutions where religious training is duly recognized furnish convincing evidence that the purpose of the framers of this Act has its counterpart in many bodies outside the Anglican Church. Nor was the early interpretation put upon it without plausible justification. To men accustomed to the overshadowing influence of the Established Church in England, as were the framers of the Act, it must have seemed a perfectly natural thing to associate the religious training which they wished to secure with the teaching of that Church alone, and to aim at the organization of a parochial system such as that which existed in the motherland. But they had overlooked the new conditions which were sure to arise in a new country. Although the majority of the earlier English settlers and practically the whole body of officials belonged to the Anglican communion, at no time was there any formal recognition in Upper Canada of an Established Church.

The subsequent flow of immigration tended to diminish rapidly the proportion to the whole population of the Anglican body. The Irish famine added greatly to the Roman Catholic population of Canada. The large majority of Scottish immigrants were Presbyterian. The greater number of those who came from the United States belonged to non-Episcopal denominations. In many ways the enthusiasm and popular methods of other religious bodies appeal more strongly to a rural population than the severe and dignified ritual of the Church of England. These and other causes tended to a large increase in the proportion of the population which was out of sympathy with the Anglican communion and unwilling that it should hold a privileged position among other religious bodies. Such a position the Act creating the Clergy Reserves, coupled with the interpretation put upon it, certainly gave to the Anglican Church. Hence, the bitter struggle which followed was prolonged through almost an entire generation. This contest formed part of the broader struggle for responsible government. It was the source of angry conflict in the legislature for many years before the union and for many years afterwards, it perplexed the policy of successive administrations and furnished the chief subject of contention in several general elections.

As early as 1817 the attention of the legislature was drawn to the abuse which was being created by the operation of the Act. It was in 1819 that the law officers of the Crown gave their opinion in favour of the Presbyterian claims. The agitation increased from that time forward, the Church of England, under the leadership of the exceedingly able but uncompromising Dr. Strachan, afterwards first Bishop of Toronto, stoutly resisting all attempts to infringe what were considered its legal and exclusive rights. Fuel was added to the fire of discussion in 1836, when Sir John Colborne, just as he was resigning his post as lieutenant-governor, acting on the recommendation of the executive council, created and endowed forty-four rectories, giving to them, as an endowment, lands which in the aggregate amounted to more than seventeen thousand acres. A storm of protest followed, and helped to swell the complaints which formed the pretext for the uprising of 1837. When the rebellion had been put down and Mr. Poulett Thomson (Lord Sydenham) was sent to Canada in October, 1839, to prepare the country for the union soon to follow, the settlement of the question seemed to him so essential to future harmony that, by extraordinary exertions and the exercise of infinite tact, he secured the passage by the assembly, in January, 1840, of an Act providing that the Reserves should be sold, and the proceeds distributed in certain proportions among the various religious denominations recognized by law. This Act was vehemently opposed by Dr. Strachan and his friends; it was far from satisfying popular opinion in Canada; on being sent to

England it was, on technical grounds, disallowed by the judges, who considered that certain of its provisions exceeded the powers of the legislature.

The imperial parliament, recognizing the necessity for dealing promptly with the question, passed an Act in the same year providing that no further reservations should be made; that of the proceeds of previous sales two-thirds should go to the Church of England and one-third to the Church of Scotland; that in the case of future sales the Church of England should have a third, the Church of Scotland a sixth, the remainder to be applied by the governor, with the advice of his council, "for purposes of public worship and religious instruction in Canada," a phrase intended to recognize the claims of other religious denominations. For a few years after the union this decision, although by many considered inequitable, remained undisturbed. Then the entire secularization of the Reserves became a plank in the platform of the Reform party. When a Reform government came into power in 1848 their most zealous supporters hoped that immediate action would be taken to carry out secularization. But, as has been said before, neither Mr. Baldwin nor Mr. LaFontaine was eager for this, and both rather deprecated the opening of the question. Besides, the legislature could not move till the Imperial Act of 1840 had been repealed. The hesitation of the ministry in asking for this repeal, the doubts about the justice of secularization entertained by both Mr. Baldwin and Mr. LaFontaine, irritated the Clear Grits and hastened the break-up of the Reform party.

George Brown did his utmost in the election of 1854 to defeat the regular Liberal candidates, with the result already mentioned—the overthrow of the Hincks-Morin ministry—by the joint votes of Conservatives and Clear Grits, the name now given to Brown's followers. Sir Allan MacNab, the leader of the Conservative opposition, was called upon to form an administration. It was a difficult position in which he found himself placed. The election had made plain the wishes of a majority of the electorate, and, if he took office at all, it must be to carry out measures which he had steadily opposed, and in coalition with men who had been his bitter opponents. But a final settlement of the chief question at issue was a supreme necessity in the interests of the country, drifting as it was under the renewed agitation towards political anarchy. Any doubts that Sir Allan entertained were swept away by the decisive judgment of the young lieutenant, who was already beginning to be looked upon as the virtual leader of the Conservative party.

Macdonald's keen political sagacity enabled him to recognize in the relation of parties an opportunity for which he had long been watching and planning. Never from the first had he been entirely in sympathy with the extreme Tory party with which he had been associated. He saw that some of the old party lines must be abandoned. It is true the Conservatives had always favoured the view of the Church of England in the matter of the Clergy Reserves; but successive elections had now made it clear that the people were bent on secularization, and that no administration could be formed, with any hope of stability, which did not place this upon its programme. Seigniorial tenure stood in the same position in Quebec. Macdonald determined to bow to the popular will, and to educate his party to follow him in doing this. He saw that there might be established a real bond of union, as there was a real unity of purpose, between the less rigid wing of the Conservative party and the more moderate advocates of reform in Upper Canada. He had taken trouble to ingratiate himself with the French members, to whom his buoyant disposition, his keen sense of humour, his courtesy and the gaiety of manner and speech under which he often concealed his deeper purposes, presented an attractive contrast to the grimly earnest temperament of the Clear Grit leader. There was evidently no insuperable antagonism between the Upper Canadian Conservatives and the more moderate of the French-Canadian Liberals; indeed in many respects they were natural allies.

It was apparently at this time that the goal towards which he was working became clear to Macdonald. Already his imagination had conceived the great Liberal-Conservative party which was afterwards to prove in his skilful hands such a potent instrument in lifting Canada to a new level of national life. The idea was still in embryo, but even in 1854 it had enough of vitality to break down long-standing hostilities and bring men together to work for the common good.

The coalition known as the MacNab-Morin administration contained six members of the previous Liberal government, with an addition of four Conservatives. Macdonald's own post was that of attorney-general for Upper Canada. This ministry has always been regarded as the offspring of his constructive ability. It applied itself at once and vigorously to the task to which it was committed. The programme submitted to the legislature embraced measures for the secularization of the Clergy Reserves, and for dealing with the seigniorial tenure. What the Conservative party would never have done of itself, what the Reform party had never dared to attempt, the new administration promptly carried out.

Loud and bitter was the outcry of Tory veterans of many a hard fought field when they saw the surrender of the central citadel around which their past conflicts had been waged. Louder still and still more dread were the denunciations hurled against what they called the "Unholy Alliance" by those who had themselves expected to give the finishing blow to those ancient grievances that had so long furnished the staple of political agitation.

But moderate men on all sides recognized the necessity for the coalition. From his retirement the great Reform leader, Robert Baldwin, wrote to express his formal approval. "However disinclined myself," he said, "to adventure on such combinations, they are unquestionably, in my opinion, under certain circumstances, not only justifiable but expedient, and even necessary. The government of the country *must* be carried on. It *ought* to be carried on with vigour. If that can be done in no other way than by mutual concessions and a coalition of parties, they become necessary. And those who, under such circumstances, assume the arduous duties of being parties to them, so far from deserving the opprobrium that is too frequently and often too successfully heaped upon them, have, in my opinion, the strongest claims upon public sympathy and support."

Mr. Hincks, the defeated premier, promised and gave his assistance. Even Mr. Dorion, the *Rouge* leader, considered the union between the Conservatives and Mr. Morin's wing of the Liberal party a natural one. The members who had accepted office in the ministry were all reëlected on going back to their constituents; and thus the seal of popular approval was in a measure put upon the policy of coalition.

Macdonald himself introduced the bill for the secularization of the Clergy Reserves on October 17th, 1854; on November 23rd it passed the assembly by a vote of sixty-two to thirty-nine; on December 10th the legislative council agreed to it without amendment; and thus in a few short weeks the coalition rid the country forever of a question which for many years had been a fruitful source of strife. In this final settlement due regard was paid to those vested interests to which the faith of the Crown was pledged. Provision was made for the payment during the lives of existing incumbents of those stipends or allowances which had been charged upon the Reserves. The government was empowered to commute these stipends for their money value on an equitable basis, though only with the consent of the incumbents themselves, the money so paid being capitalized and invested for the good of the church concerned. In cases like those of the Wesleyan and Roman Catholic bodies, where annual grants had been made in a block sum without reference to individual incumbents, it was provided that the payments should be continued for a term of twenty years. When all these first charges on the fund had been paid, the residue was to be divided among the city and county municipalities in proportion to their population, and applied to ordinary municipal purposes.

While these terms of settlement were doubtless better than would have been granted at less sympathetic hands, the clergy, and especially those of the Anglican Church, who were most largely concerned, lost heavily in comparison with their legal claims. Yet even by them this settlement was accepted as final, and in a spirit which justified the high compliment paid to them by Macdonald in a public speech a few years later. "To the credit of the churches concerned, and of their clergy, be it said, that, great as was their loss, and enormous their sacrifice—for they had a claim on the full half of the proceeds—they acquiesced in the settlement we proposed, because they felt that they ought not to be the cause of strife, and would not be placed in a false position, and have it said that they looked more after temporal than spiritual things. Though the pittances paid were small, I am happy to have personally received assurances from the clergy of these churches—from their bishops downward—that they are glad our legislation succeeded."

While the Clergy Reserves were being dealt with, another Act finally settling the question of seigniorial tenure was being pushed through the legislature. This grievance was an inheritance from the old French *régime*, under which an effort was made to introduce into the New World the feudal system of France in the Middle Ages. Large blocks of territory were granted to seigniors or superior vassals by the Crown on a tenure of "faith and homage," together with other conditions, among which was an obligation to clear the land within a limited time on pain of forfeiture. The seigniors subdivided their land among the peasants or *habitants*, who in turn were subject to various feudal imposts and dues. The exaction of these dues and of various feudal obligations connected with this system of land tenure had gradually become exceedingly vexatious, and furnished much ground for discontent in Lower Canada. In the settlement now made the radical method of cure, by confiscation, was avoided, and regard was had for those vested rights which the seigniors had acquired by original grant and by the lapse of time. Commissioners were appointed to enquire into and fix the value of these rights; a tribunal was provided to which doubtful questions could be referred, and a commutation fund was set apart for the indemnification of the seigniors. But all feudal rights and duties in Lower Canada were finally abolished, and when the commissioners finished their work five years later, and the necessary money to close the accounts for payment was voted, this remnant of the mediæval system of France, which had been so fruitful a source of agitation and discontent, disappeared from the field of Canadian politics. At a few points along the St. Lawrence certain harmless survivals of seigniorial ownership still remain to add picturesqueness to the conditions of life, but they no longer furnish grounds for irritation.

CHAPTER IV

DEADLOCK

1854 TO 1864

ALTHOUGH covering a period of rapid growth, the ten years between 1854 and 1864 are, in their political aspect, among the least satisfactory in Canadian annals. It is worth pondering that in an age often accused of materialism, popular enthusiasm and a spirit of self-sacrifice are much more easily aroused over religious and constitutional questions, which affect no man's pocket but touch his convictions or sentiment, than over the prosaic details of administrative honesty and economy. With the achievement of responsible government, the secularization of the Clergy Reserves and of the University of Toronto, and the abolition of seignioriaI tenure, a group of great questions passed into the background, and not for some time did new problems of equal magnitude definitely present themselves. The question of railway construction, probably the most important before the House during these years, remained in the realm of commerce, and did not rise to that vital connection with the national ideal and the national aspiration reached in later years by the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The consequence was a distinct lowering in the tone of political life, and in the political methods considered lawful or at least pardonable; a lowering of tone which did not pass away till great constitutional questions again presented themselves.

During these years of party bickering and intrigue the difficulties inherent in the legislative union of 1841 were gradually demonstrated. Brown, Macdonald and other Canadian statesmen were brought face to face with this inadequacy, and forced to search for a remedy. The problem in large measure arose from the short-sighted attempt of the framers of the Act of Union to subject the French to the English-speaking population. In 1837 the inhabitants of Lower Canada had numbered six hundred thousand as compared with four hundred thousand in the Upper Province, yet each had been assigned an equal number of members in the united legislature. Though this injustice roused deep anger among the French, by 1854 they had found that, by holding themselves together as a solid phalanx, they were able, through the divisions among the English, to obtain an equal, if not a preponderating, influence. In the end the constitutional provision contrived for their subjection proved to their advantage. Owing to emigration the population of the Upper Province increased so rapidly that in 1852 it was sixty thousand larger than that of Lower Canada, and in 1861 almost three hundred thousand, a result which the prescience of Lord Durham had foreseen. "I am averse," he had written in his famous report, "to every plan that has been proposed for giving an equal number of members to the two provinces, in order to attain the temporary end of outnumbering the French, because I think the same object will be attained without any violation of the principles of representation and without any such appearance of injustice in the scheme as would set public opinion, both in England and America, strongly against it; and because, when emigration shall have increased the English population in the Upper Province, the adoption of such a principle would operate to defeat the very purpose it is intended to serve. It appears to me that any such electoral arrangement founded on the present provincial divisions, would tend to defeat the purposes of union, and perpetuate the idea of disunion."

The increasing discrepancy allowed George Brown to fan the flame of racial and religious antagonism, and it was not long before he controlled a majority of the constituencies in Ontario. His solution of the difficulty was that proposed by Lord Durham, and adopted in 1848 by Papineau, of ignoring the division into Upper and Lower Canada and dividing the members among the constituencies of the united province "as near as may be in accordance with population." Against this the French-Canadians urged that the union of 1841 amounted to a compact; that the essence of the understanding was that the two provinces should be on a legislative equality; that without such protection one province might become entirely dominant over the other; and that in any case the complaint came with an ill grace from the province which had welcomed this very legislative equality as offering their best security against French domination. Their leaders were not slow to realize the strength of their position. "*Nous avons l'avantage; profitons-en*," said Mr. T. J. Loranger to his constituents, while Mr. Cartier calmly told the House that the extra sixty thousand Upper Canadians had no more right to be counted than so many codfish in the Bay of Gaspé.

On Macdonald the influence of this period was both for good and for evil. It increased in him that laxity of political methods noted by Sir Alexander Campbell; it led him to think "fighting fire with fire" a venial political sin; but it also brought out to the full his marvellous adroitness, his power of managing men and shaping coalitions. The skill with which he guided the tangled negotiations from 1864 to 1867 was won in the conflict of the previous ten years. When he said, as he frequently did in later life, that his greatest triumphs were achieved before Confederation, he must have been thinking of the days when, with George Brown dominant in Ontario and Cartier supreme in Quebec, he was yet the most prominent and the most powerful man in the House. Mr. Pope has well described his appearance at this epoch:—

"Without pretension to oratory in the strict sense of the word, the intimate knowledge of public affairs, joined to the keen powers of argument, humour and sarcasm, the ready wit, the wealth of illustration and brilliant repartee, gave to his speeches, set off as they were by a striking presence and singularly persuasive style, a potency which was well-nigh irresistible. Those of us who knew Sir John Macdonald only when his voice had grown weak, his figure become stooped, his hair thin and grey and his face seamed with lines of anxious care, and remember the power which under these disadvantages of age he exercised over the minds and hearts of men, can well understand how it came to pass that, in the days of his physical prime, he inspired, not merely his followers with a devotion which is almost without parallel in political annals, but drew to his side first one and then another of his opponents, until he could truly say at the end of his days that he had the proud satisfaction of knowing that almost every leading man who had begun political life as his opponent ended by being his colleague and friend."

To show how with all his brilliancy, his adroitness, his sometimes excessive fertility of resource, he was gradually forced to acknowledge the union of 1841 unworkable, is the object of this chapter.

The political events of these years, which in some ways read like a series of secondary and disconnected incidents, nevertheless compelled public men to look beyond party intrigue for some firm foundation of constitutional principle.

In January, 1855, Mr. Morin accepted a seat upon the bench. A reconstruction of the cabinet followed.[1] Mr. Morin's place was taken by Colonel (afterwards Sir E. P.) Taché, an honest and dignified country gentleman, chiefly remembered to-day as the author of the saying that "if ever this ceases to be a British country, the last shot in the maintenance of British rule in America will be fired by a French-Canadian." Though Colonel Taché had been in the cabinet since 1848, his heart was never wholly given to politics, and hence it was all the more easy for Macdonald, who held the portfolio of attorney-general west, to become the real leader of the party. The most significant addition to the cabinet was that of Georges Etienne Cartier, who now for the first time became associated with Macdonald in a ministry. The cöoperation of these two men was to be a principal factor in Canadian politics for many a year.

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[1] The MacNab-Taché ministry was constituted as follows: The Hon. Sir A. N. MacNab, president of the council and minister of agriculture (first minister); the Hon. W. Cayley, inspector-general; the Hon. Robert Spence, postmaster-general; the Hon. Joseph Cauchon, commissioner of Crown lands; the Hon. François Lemieux, chief commissioner of public works; the Hon. G. E. Cartier, provincial secretary; the Hon. E. P. Taché, receiver-general; the Hon. J. A. Macdonald, attorney-general (Upper Canada); the Hon. L. T. Drummond, attorney-general (Lower Canada); the Hon. John Ross, (without portfolio).

Sir Allan MacNab in saying "ours is a policy of railways," outlined the chief work of the session, during which numerous railways were incorporated. The year 1855 was also marked by the removal of the seat of government from Quebec to Toronto and by the renewal of violent discussion on the question of where it should be permanently fixed, a question destined to cause much heartburning ere it was settled. During 1856 a bill was passed making the legislative council elective, a constitutional change which had been rendered possible by the passing of an imperial Act, in accordance with the prayer of an address from the legislative assembly in the session of 1853. A similar bill had been passed by the assembly the year before, but had been rejected by the council. It is an interesting fact that while Macdonald supported this measure, George Brown opposed it. Macdonald's judgment as to the value of an elected council had changed before the time of the Confederation conference in Quebec in 1864, when he argued vigorously for a nominated Upper House.

In the next year it became evident that the coalition could not be held together under the leadership of Sir Allan MacNab. The dissatisfaction of the Reform wing of his party—“Baldwin Reformers” as they were called—grew deeper and deeper. Though advancing years had modified his opinions, Sir Allan was emphatically a Tory, his ideal of government was that of a strengthened and purified Family Compact, and he had a *penchant*, unhappily not confined to Tories, of giving vacant positions solely to his own numerous hangers-on. Against this unequal distribution of patronage the Reform wing of the coalition loudly protested. Sir Allan was further handicapped and sometimes incapacitated by violent attacks of gout. But nothing was further from his thoughts than resignation, and the problem of superseding him was not easily solved. It would serve no useful purpose to detail the involved intrigues of this period. When Sir Allan had been displaced he inveighed both in public and in private against his successor. Had there been sufficient foundation for his attacks, the opponents of Macdonald would no doubt have been justified in taunting him with ingratitude, and there would have been some excuse for George Brown when he bitterly told him that his political path was marked out by gravestones. Yet the charge was unfounded, and the part which Macdonald played was really considerate and generous. His virtual leadership was universally recognized; he doubtless felt in himself powers far greater than those possessed by Sir Allan MacNab even at his prime; he saw that the party was going to pieces, and felt that no one but himself had the power to hold it together; but neither in word or deed was he untrue to his old chief, nor did he prompt or assist the intrigues against him. A confidential letter written in 1854 to his most intimate party friend makes this clear. "You say truly that we are a good deal handicapped with 'old blood.' Sir Allan will not be in our way, however. He is very reasonable and requires only that we should not in his 'sere and yellow leaf' offer him the indignity of casting him aside. This I would never assent to, for I cannot forget his services in days gone by." There is nothing to show that Macdonald departed from this view. He would have preferred to wait till advancing years and infirmities rendered Sir Allan's resignation necessary, but events forced him to the front.

During the session of 1856 Sir Allan's gout grew worse, and so too did the temper with which he repelled all suggestions of resignation. At last the vexed question of the seat of government gave to the malcontents their chance. In April an Act was passed providing that after 1859 Quebec should be the permanent capital. In May, when an item of $200,000 for the construction of buildings at Quebec was included among the supplementary estimates, the majority of the members from Upper Canada supported an amendment stating "that the course of the administration with reference to the seat of government and other important public questions has disappointed the just expectations of the great majority of the people of this province." Though the government was sustained by the votes of its Lower Canadian supporters, Messrs. Morrison and Spence, the Upper Canadian Reformers in the cabinet, at once resigned on the ground that they were not supported in their own province, and were followed by the Conservatives, Messrs. Cayley and Macdonald. In this resignation was involved the question of the "double majority." "It is worthy of note," says Mr. Pope, "that while almost every member of a government forty years ago regarded an adverse sectional vote as a serious blow to the existing administration, few could be found to affirm directly the soundness of the 'double majority' principle—that is, that no ministry should be held to possess the confidence of parliament unless it could command a majority in each section of the province."

There can be little doubt that in a legislative union, such as was that of Upper and Lower Canada, an adverse vote of one section no more entailed resignation than would an adverse vote of Scottish or Irish members involve the resignation of a British premier. When Robert Baldwin resigned in 1851 he did so, not on the ground of the "double majority" principle, but because in a question affecting the interests of Upper Canada alone and especially those of the legal profession, he, the attorney-general, had been put in a minority by the legal members from Upper Canada; and he distinctly advised his colleagues in the cabinet, who were not so deeply interested in the bill, not to follow his example. The only prominent upholder of the "double majority" as a constitutional theory was Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, who, regarding the union as a compact, held that the consent of a majority of the representatives of both sections of the compact was necessary to its continuance. But even he, when premier, threw overboard this theory. Yet in practice the social, racial, religious and historic questions involved made it impossible to rule permanently a united Canada without a majority in both sections. Hence while none of the four ministers who resigned admitted the constitutional necessity of the "double majority," and while Macdonald expressly saved his face by declaring "that he did not think that the 'double majority' should be adopted as a rule," all gave reasons for their action practically admitting it. Mr. Spence and Mr. Morrison explained their course on the ground that the wing of the coalition which they represented had withdrawn its support from the government; Mr. Cayley and Mr. Macdonald on the plea that after the defection of so large a body as the "Baldwin Reformers" "any attempt to carry on the government would be futile." Unable to fill their places, Sir Allan MacNab resigned. The governor-general, Sir Edmund Walker Head, called upon Colonel Taché to form a government, which the assistance of Macdonald alone enabled him to do, and on May 24th, 1856, the Taché-Macdonald administration assumed control. The stop-gap of 1844 was now leader of his party in Upper Canada and premier of the province in all but name.

Shortly after this, but during the same session, occurred the dramatic quarrel between Macdonald and George Brown. The editor of the *Globe* had been reproached for inconsistency in attacking the government after supporting the election of MacNab and Macdonald, as opponents of Hincks, in 1854. To this he replied that his change was justified by their subsequent conduct. Swinging his long arms, his characteristic gesture in moments of vehemence, he made a fierce attack upon what he termed the "kaleidoscopic politics" of Macdonald. It was the last of a long series of provocations, and for once the hot-tempered Highlander forgot alike his caution, his courtesy and his regard for truth. Springing to his feet he poured out a torrent of invective, stating that in 1849 Brown, while secretary of a commission appointed to investigate the condition of the penitentiary at Kingston, had "falsified the testimony of witnesses, suborned convicts to commit perjury, and obtained the pardon of murderers confined in the penitentiary to induce them to give false evidence." These charges Brown passionately denied, amid frequent and furious interruptions from Macdonald. On the request of the accused a commission was appointed, which presented two reports, of which that of the majority found that irregularities in the compilation of evidence had been committed by the penitentiary committee, but refused to decide how far responsibility for this attached to the secretary; for the graver charges against him no justification was alleged. The minority report was a complete exculpation of Mr. Brown. After long and passionate debates, in which Sir Allan MacNab bluntly declared that there was no evidence against Mr. Brown,[1] and that the committee should have had the manliness to say so, the House was prorogued without coming to a definite decision, and the matter was not again brought up. To Macdonald, who seldom lost control of his temper, this lapse into the region of elemental passion gave a severe lesson, and one which he did not forget; but the atmosphere of the session must have been peculiarly electric, for towards the end of June an altercation with Colonel Rankin, the member for Essex, grew so hot that after the close of the session a challenge was sent by Macdonald. "I need hardly say," he writes to his second, "that circumstanced as I am, any meeting must take place out of Canada, but I am sure you will pay every regard to Mr. Rankin's convenience in the choice of the place of meeting." The encounter was averted, Mr. Rankin, recognizing that he had spoken on wrong information, made a frank apology, and lived to become one of Macdonald's warmest personal and political friends. It would seem that an equally frank apology from Macdonald to Brown might have gone far to mitigate the bitterness of personal hostility which long marked the relations of the two combatants.

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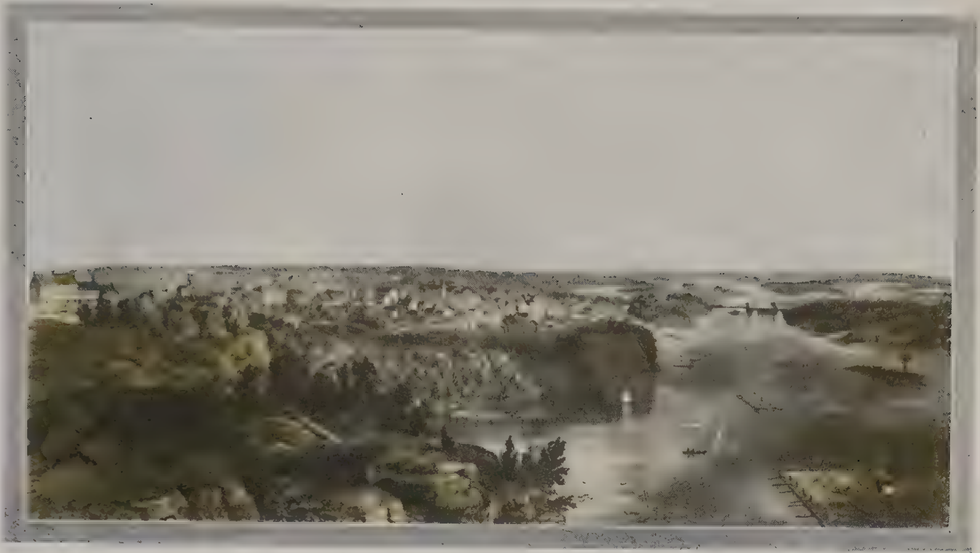
[1] This opinion was vehemently maintained also by William Lyon Mackenzie, Sir Allan's antagonist of former days and Mr. Brown's successful opponent in the Haldimand election.

Another question on which Macdonald and Brown came into strong opposition and on which his opponent for some time commanded a majority in Upper Canada, was the claim made by the Roman Catholics of Upper Canada for a separate system of schools. This Brown denounced as flat popery, while Macdonald, though theoretically opposed to the concession, supported it as necessary to ensure harmony, and also in view of the liberal treatment extended by the Roman Catholic Church to the Protestant minority in the province of Quebec. After years of controversy the Roman Catholics won their claim, and separate schools were finally established in 1862-3 by the Reform administration of Sandfield Macdonald.

In 1857 the first step was taken in a movement big with consequences for Canada. The imperial government had appointed a committee to investigate the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company to the northern and western parts of what is now the Dominion of Canada, and invited the Canadian government to send a commissioner to take part in the enquiry. The acquisition by Canada of these vast regions had for some time been urged by prominent men of both parties, and at Macdonald's instance Chief-justice Draper was sent to uphold the Canadian claims before the committee, which he did with boldness and skill. For some years nothing more was done, but even amid the clash of party warfare neither George Brown nor Macdonald forgot the vast area of wood and prairie between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains.

Towards the end of this year, 1857, failing health forced Colonel Taché to resign. The governor-general at once sent for the attorney-general west, who soon succeeded in forming a government in conjunction with his friend Georges Etienne Cartier, henceforth his constant ally, and on November 26th, 1857, John Alexander Macdonald became premier of the Province of Canada. Little could he then have dreamed that thirty-three years later he would still be prime minister of Canada, but of a Canada which had expanded into a great Dominion stretching from ocean to ocean. He at once dissolved the House and appealed to the people on the issues, forced on by Brown, of separate schools and representation by population. His views on the school question have already been stated; on that of representation by population he argued that the union of 1841 was of the nature of a compact, and that so fundamental a change could not be carried without the dissolution of the union. He was also opposed to it as being a tacit recognition of the principle of universal suffrage, which he always opposed, contending that property was an essential condition of the right to vote. In this view he was supported by his colleagues, though not without great searchings of heart. As early as 1855 one of them had written to him protesting against "the leeching process going on toward Upper Canada," and all his skill was taxed to hold them faithful to his ideas of toleration and of compromise.

The government fared badly in Upper Canada, where the Liberals obtained a large majority, but Cartier and the Church swept Quebec, and only a handful of the *Rouges*, on whom were visited the sins of George Brown and his party, survived the storm. But though thus sustained, Macdonald felt keenly the difficulty of governing Upper Canada by the French vote, and made overtures for a coalition to a band of moderate Reformers headed by John Sandfield Macdonald, who had grown



OTTAWA CITY, CANADA WEST

After a lithograph in the Public Archives of Canada

tired alike of the policy and of the personality of Brown. To his namesake Macdonald offered a choice of positions in the cabinet, with the right to appoint two colleagues, provided neither was a Grit. But Sandfield Macdonald was aiming at higher things, and the next day his refusal came in the characteristic telegram, "No go."

Later in this year, 1858, occurred the two memorable events known as "The Short Administration" and "The Double Shuffle." The vexed question of the seat of government had been referred to Her Majesty, who, at the suggestion of Sir Edmund Head, chose Ottawa, then known as Bytown. Great was the dissatisfaction of Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, and Toronto, and when the ministry accepted the queen's award, the Opposition succeeded in carrying the motion that "in the opinion of this House the city of Ottawa ought not to be the permanent seat of government of this province." Though sustained later in the day on a motion of want of confidence, the government announced that they felt it their duty to resent the slight put by the assembly upon Her Majesty, and resigned. Called on to form a government, Mr. Brown accepted the task, and got together a ministry which lasted rather less than forty-eight hours. The refusal of His Excellency to grant to the new government a dissolution as a means of testing public opinion was bitterly criticized by the

Reformers, but under the circumstances was probably justified, since there was little likelihood that the previous verdict of the electors would be reversed. Then followed a curious incident.

On the defeat of the Brown-Dorion government, His Excellency summoned Mr. (afterwards Sir A. T.) Galt, the member for Sherbrooke, well known as an authority on finance, and as an advocate of the federal union of the British North American colonies. But Mr. Galt, though personally popular on both sides of the House, had no immediate following, and wisely declined the task. Cartier was then sent for, and in connection with Macdonald, formed an administration practically the same as that which had recently resigned, but with Cartier as premier, and including, as finance minister, Galt, who accepted office on the express stipulation that federation should be actively supported by the new ministry. As a result of the well-known rule by which a newly-appointed minister is compelled to resign and to seek reëlection from his constituents, Brown, Dorion, and their colleagues were now not in the House. But in order to facilitate temporary changes of portfolio, it had been enacted that no minister should be obliged to seek reëlection who resigned one portfolio and in less than a month accepted another. Of this the incoming ministers took advantage. During the evening of August 6th they took the oath of office, each assuming a different portfolio from that which he had before held. Cartier became inspector-general and Macdonald post-master-general. Early in the morning of the next day they resigned their portfolios, and resumed those formerly held, Cartier becoming attorney-general east and Macdonald attorney-general west. By this altogether too clever trick they avoided the expense and uncertainty of an election. But though some endeavoured to defend it, and though it has been ingeniously compared to the well-known device by which a member of the imperial House desiring to resign his seat accepts the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, there is no doubt that the better judgment of the community was shocked, and the law has since been amended so as to render a repetition of the manœuvre impossible.

From 1858 to 1862 the Cartier-Macdonald ministry succeeded in avoiding defeat, no small accomplishment considering the complications and perturbations of the time, and the general absence of steadying influences. The legislative records of this period have little to interest the reader of to-day. In the summer of 1859 the seat of government was removed from Toronto to Quebec. In the autumn of 1860 the country was visited by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales (now King Edward), who with much pomp opened the Victoria Bridge which spans the St. Lawrence at Montreal. Throughout the country there was universal rejoicing, and the loyalty of the Canadian people was abundantly displayed. The popular pleasure was, however, somewhat marred by an unseemly contention, in which Macdonald was unwillingly involved. The Duke of Newcastle, colonial secretary at that time, and the prince's mentor during the visit, became embroiled with the powerful Orange order through his refusal to allow the prince to land at Kingston, Macdonald's constituency, in which the Orangemen were so strong that it was known as "the Derry of Canada," and where special Orange decorations had been prepared for the occasion. All Macdonald's tact was needed to keep on good terms both with his aggrieved constituents and with the imperial minister.

In 1862 the government was unexpectedly defeated on a militia bill introduced by Macdonald for the better organization of the Canadian forces, and rendered advisable by the war then raging in the United States. He enjoyed the unwonted sensation of being in a majority in Upper Canada, but Cartier could not on this occasion keep his followers in line, the measure being distasteful, on the whole, to the French-Canadian constituencies. Its defeat caused much surprise and a certain degree of irritation in England, and undoubtedly furthered the movement of feeling, which culminated about 1870, in favour of allowing the colonies to shift for themselves.

There is evidence that Macdonald had for some time been becoming less pronounced in his opposition to representation by population. In the reconstruction of the administration early in 1862 this had been left an open question, and three colleagues had been introduced into the cabinet who were known to be in its favour. It is probable that had not a wider solution been found, in which representation by population had its due place, he might have devised a combination for carrying it, embracing safeguards for the rights and privileges of Lower Canada. Before the finding of that wider solution, two years were to elapse, during which the wheels of government drave yet more heavily.

During 1860 and 1861 the influence of George Brown, whom the country was beginning to regard as an agitator rather than as a statesman, had declined, and a distinct body of moderate Reformers had been formed under the leadership of Sandfield Macdonald and Mr. L. V. Sicotte. To these the governor-general now appealed, and the Sandfield Macdonald-Sicotte ministry came into being on a policy of retrenchment and of strict observance of the "double majority." They were opposed at once by Brown and by the Conservatives, and so were defeated on a vote of want of confidence moved by Macdonald. Sandfield Macdonald, instead of resigning, promptly joined forces with Brown, Dorion and the *Rouges*, and the government, thus reconstructed, tottered on till March, 1864. Then, as an important election had gone against them, and reduced their dubious majority, the government resigned without waiting for a formal dismissal by parliament. After much embarrassment the governor-general, Lord Monck, finally succeeded in inducing Sir E. P. Taché to leave his retirement, and to form a government in connection with J. A. Macdonald, whose objection to taking office at all was only overcome with difficulty. This new administration was in its turn overthrown early in June. Thus in three years four ministries had been defeated and two general elections had failed to ease the strain. The two parties were at a deadlock; the wheels of the union compromise had become clogged beyond remedy. To these political embarrassments were added financial difficulties, largely connected with the Grand Trunk Railway. Faced with complications so various, Canadian statesmen showed that, in their country's need, the leaders of both parties could waive their political and personal differences, and seek in a higher and wider sphere of action the solution of the problems which in existing conditions had proved so hopeless.

CHAPTER V

COALITION TO CARRY CONFEDERATION

1864 TO 1865

THE year 1864 must always be memorable in Canadian history. It marks the point where the old system of governing the united provinces of Upper and Lower Canada broke down, and some new political departure became a necessity. After the defeat of the Taché-Macdonald ministry the outlook seemed practically hopeless, since there was no reason to expect that a further appeal to the electors would produce a different result. The union formed twenty-three years before had proved unworkable.

Only under strong protest had Macdonald taken part in this last ministry—his desire to withdraw from public life was openly expressed and, in all probability, sincerely felt. The difficulties of governing two provinces, in which racial and religious differences had been fanned into flame for party ends, were enough to deter the most courageous from carrying on the thankless task. But, as on more than one previous occasion, he recognized that the queen's government must be carried on; and so, nominally as attorney-general for Upper Canada, but really as the leader of the administration, he took office. We can now see that the complications, which seemed to render constitutional government in Canada well-nigh impossible, were in reality preparing the ground for a system adapted to the changing needs of the country, and capable of vast development. It seems unlikely that anything but a deadlock in the machinery of the legislature would have induced the leaders of the two great parties to drop for a time their animosities and unite in an effort to solve the complicated problems of Canadian politics. But the deadlock had now come. Two general elections and the defeat of four ministries within three years had done nothing to improve the situation. Ministry and Opposition sat facing each other on the floors of the legislature with nearly equal numbers; intrigue had done its utmost to incline the balance of advantage to either side; in the country one phalanx of irreconcilables resolutely faced another equally determined and equally strong. Fortunately beneath the surface heat of party passion there still glowed the steady fires of genuine Canadian patriotism. The vision of a greater union arose to make men forget, for a time at least, their personal animosities and differences and unite in a work of consolidation.

On the day that the Taché-Macdonald government was defeated, the proposal of a coalition framed to extricate the country from its difficulties was made, to his unending honour, by Macdonald's vehement opponent, George Brown. For a time at least the ardent party leader was transformed into the self-sacrificing patriot, and in this spirit he made the offer of assistance from himself and his friends to enable the defeated government to carry on the business of the country while preparing a scheme of federal union. The first suggestion was that this federation should embrace only Upper and Lower Canada; but the larger scheme for uniting all British North America had already seized upon the public imagination, and it was soon found that nothing less than this would furnish a sufficient rallying-point for party groups.

Many circumstances conspired to turn men's minds at this time towards the great national ideal of a union of the whole of British North America. The idea was not new. Political dreamers had suggested it early in the century—inspired, no doubt, by the example of the United States. Lord Durham had outlined the vision in 1839. He found the public mind already in a measure prepared for its realization. In his report he says: "I discussed a general measure for the government of the colonies with the deputations from the Lower Provinces, and with various leading individuals and public bodies in both the Canadas . . . and I was gratified by finding the leading minds of the various colonies strongly and generally inclined to a scheme that would elevate their countries into something like a national existence."

While the exigencies of the situation in Quebec led him to thrust aside the scheme of a general union as for the moment impracticable, he returns to the ideal with the foresight of a great statesman: "I am inclined to go further, and inquire whether all these objects would not more surely be obtained by extending this legislative union over all the British provinces in North America; and whether the advantages which I anticipate for two of them, might not, and should not in justice, be extended over all. Such a union would at once decisively settle the question of races; it would enable all the provinces to cöoperate for all common purposes; and, above all, it would form a great and powerful people, possessing the means of securing good and responsible government for itself, and which, under the protection of the British empire, might in some measure counterbalance the preponderant and increasing influence of the United States on the American continent." He continues: "I do not anticipate that a colonial legislature thus strong and thus self-governing, would desire to abandon the connection with Great Britain. On the contrary, I believe that the practical relief from undue interference, which would be the result of such a change, would strengthen the present bonds of feeling and interests; and that the connection would only become more durable and advantageous by having more of equality, of freedom, and of local independence. But at any rate, our first duty is to secure the well-being of our colonial countrymen; and if in the hidden decrees of that wisdom by which this world is ruled, it is written that these countries are not forever to remain portions of the empire, we owe it to our honour to take good care, that, when they separate from us, they should not be the only countries on the American continent in which the Anglo-Saxon race shall be found unfit to govern itself."

The British American League, founded in 1849, largely under Macdonald's inspiration, as an offset to the annexation manifesto which followed Lord Elgin's assent to the Rebellion Losses Bill and the burning of the Parliament House at Montreal, adopted the confederation of all the provinces as one of its main objects, and embodied its convictions in a series of resolutions which united that aim with the creation of a national commercial policy and the fundamental principle of inviolable connection with the mother country.

The first formal adoption of the idea by a legislative body was in the province of Nova Scotia, where the assembly, in 1854, unanimously passed a resolution that, "the union or confederation of the British provinces, while calculated to perpetuate their connection with the parent state, will promote their advancement and prosperity, increase their strength and influence, and elevate their position."

The occasion was marked by a speech of remarkable power by Joseph Howe, the leader of the Liberal party and one of the most brilliant orators that Canada has ever produced.

In Howe's mind a united British North America was the true stepping-stone to a firmly united empire, while both were essential to the highest political development of the nation. Howe's friend Haliburton (Sam Slick), the Canadian father of the American school of humour, had lent his keen wit and vigorous political intelligence to the same advocacy. In the year 1858, under the premiership of Sir Georges Cartier, an official stamp was given to the consideration of the question in the Canadian legislature by the following paragraph embodied in the speech from the throne:—

"I propose in the course of the recess to communicate with Her Majesty's government and with the governments of sister colonies on another matter of great importance. I am desirous of inviting them to discuss with us the principles upon which a bond of a federal character, uniting the provinces of North America, may perhaps hereafter be practicable."

In the debate which ensued Sir Alexander Galt had taken a prominent part, and in an able speech had demonstrated the possibility of working out such a scheme. Following up the discussion which then took place, Cartier, Galt and another colleague, Ross, proceeded, soon after the close of the session, to England to secure the approval of the British government and to get authority to consult the Maritime Provinces.

Meanwhile the impulse towards union was strengthened by various practical considerations. The age of railway development was fairly begun and there was now, among all interested in the growth of trade and commerce, a strong desire for free communication between the provinces. The customs barriers erected in every province checked the free interchange of products, and hence also the full development of industry. Postal and telegraph systems managed independently by each provincial government were seen to be inadequate to the public need ; varying systems of law, civil and criminal, hampered the administration of justice and the operations of commerce. In a hundred directions it was felt that to confine within provincial bounds the currents of political life meant industrial and commercial atrophy. To these internal conditions external circumstances of great significance added their pressure, and made an enlarged and invigorated system of government more necessary than ever before. The American war of secession had broken out in 1861. The seizure by an American man-of-war of two Confederate commissioners, who were being carried to Europe on a British merchant ship, (the *Trent*) brought the two nations to the brink of conflict. Canada seemed threatened with invasion; troops poured across the Atlantic, and the militia were called out to defend the country. In the end the captured commissioners were surrendered and war was averted, but American animosity had been aroused and invasion was still possible. The tension was increased, on the one side by the exploits of the Southern privateer *Alabama*, which had escaped from a British port and was destroying American commerce, and on the other side by raids of Fenian filibusters upon the Canadian frontiers. The capacity of Canada to defend itself became an urgent question, not only among Canadians themselves but with the imperial government. The point of radical weakness evidently rested in the lack of any common policy or the means of joint action among the scattered and independent provinces.

To fears of armed invasion was added the threat of commercial war. The need of a more extensive home market was brought home to Canadian statesmen by the manifest intention of the American government to denounce the treaty of reciprocity negotiated by Lord Elgin in 1854. This treaty had been of great advantage to both nations; while, during the war, the balance of trade had been in favour of Canada, the United States enjoyed the still greater boon of ability to obtain cheap and plentiful supplies at a time of great national peril. But some Canadian expressions of sympathy for the South aroused great anger, though such verbal aid to their enemies might have been considered as offset by the presence of forty thousand soldiers of Canadian blood in the armies of the North. Nor can it be doubted that the abrogation of the treaty was regarded by many American politicians as the first step in the process of starving Canada into union. At a great convention of business men held in Detroit early in 1865, a speech by Joseph Howe won a unanimous vote in favour of the renewal of the treaty, but later in the year it was denounced by the American government, and came to an end in March, 1866. Threatened in 1864 with this impending blow, and also with the abrogation of the bonding privilege, by which goods from foreign countries might be brought into Canada through American territory without breaking bulk or paying duty at the American port of entry, the need for a more extensive home market and for independent lines of connection with the sea was obvious.

But while the older generation of Canadians may have thought of Confederation chiefly as a means of escape from the political tangles of past years, or as a means of defence, to the younger men of the country it appealed mainly as a national inspiration. There had never seemed any sufficient reason why the Canadian provinces should move so slowly as they did while development, vast and rapid, was going on beyond the boundary line to the South. It was irritating to find that those who sought a larger field for enterprise or industry gradually drifted away from Canadian farms and villages to find scope for themselves in an alien country. Provincial narrowness of view, hostile interprovincial tariffs, lack of easy communication between the old Canadian provinces and those of the Atlantic seaboard, an absence of that national spirit which springs from the sense of united strength and a great future, were the reasons which naturally suggested themselves to every thinking man when he began to weigh the reasons for Canadian inferiority on the American continent. The outside world inclined to attribute the situation to that severity of climate which appeared to terrify the emigrants who poured in thousands into regions further south, or to some lack of natural resources. But those who were better acquainted with the facts and who knew the country's wealth of forest, fisheries, mine, and productive soil, knew also that the cause of comparative failure in the rate of progress must be sought in other circumstances, and they seemed to find it in the dispersion of force inseparable from the existing political conditions.

Yet, although since 1849 federation had been Macdonald's ideal, constantly held, and frequently expressed, he by no means leaped at this opportunity of realizing it with the quick impulsiveness of George Brown. No man knew so well the difficulties and dangers to be faced, especially in the province of Quebec; difficulties not only in the execution of the scheme, but in its subsequent operation. During the last days of the Macdonald-Dorion ministry, a committee of the leading members of both sides of the House had been appointed, at the instance of George Brown, "to enquire and report on the important subjects embraced in" the memorandum submitted in February, 1859, by Messrs. Cartier, Galt and Ross to the imperial government, "and the best means of remedying the evils therein set forth." This committee, which sat with closed doors, brought in a report in favour of "a federative system, applied either to Canada alone, or to the whole British North American provinces." Of the three members of the committee who opposed the adoption of the report, Macdonald was one. When later Brown made his historic offer, long conferences with Cartier, Galt and his other chief supporters from Lower Canada, preceded Macdonald's acceptance. But, when finally convinced that the hour had come, he rose at once to the height of his great opportunity, and, during the next three years of negotiations with recalcitrant supporters, with hesitating sister provinces, and with the mother country, displayed a skill that, by comparison, dwarfs the efforts of any of his colleagues. Much ink has been wasted to decide the paternity of Confederation. The question would be simplified if the disputants remembered that men and circumstances must concur to bring great natural movements to the birth. Confederation had many fathers; to one man alone is it mainly due that the child took a vigorous hold of life.

Brown had at first been anxious to give to the ministry only an outside support, but Macdonald was inflexible in the demand that Brown should take all the responsibilities of cabinet position in working out the scheme, and the patriotism of the latter finally overcame his personal and party prejudices. At the cost of a rupture with Holton, Dorion and the *Rouges*, he entered with two colleagues the ministry of Sir Etienne Taché. Though for years no word had passed between Macdonald and himself, both men now honourably sank their differences. In Macdonald's words, "We acted together, dined at public places together, played euchre in crossing the Atlantic, and went into society in England together. And yet on the day after he resigned we resumed our old positions and ceased to speak."

Brown's first proposition had been for a federal union of the two provinces, and his enthusiasm for the larger scheme was probably due to the freedom which it promised to Ontario from "French domination." Macdonald's eye was turned rather to the possibility of building up what he described as "a nation, a subordinate, but still a powerful, people to stand by Britain in North America, in peace or in war," and, in describing the opportunities for growth which lay before the new nation, he showed what was for him an unusual warmth of enthusiasm. "When this union takes place, we shall be at the outset no inconsiderable people. And a rapidly increasing population—for I am satisfied that under this union our population will increase in a still greater ratio than ever before—with increased credit—with a higher position in the eyes of Europe—with the increased security we can offer to emigrants, who would naturally prefer to seek a new home in what is known to them as a great country, than in any one little colony or another—with all this I am satisfied that, great as has been our progress in the last twenty-five years since the union between Upper and Lower Canada, our future progress, during the next quarter of a century, will be vastly greater. And when, by means of this rapid increase, we become a nation of eight or nine millions of inhabitants, our alliance will be worthy of being sought by the great nations of the earth."

To build up this new nation, harbours open throughout the year were indispensable, and could be obtained only by union with the Maritime Provinces. An opportunity for negotiation soon presented itself. Under the guidance of Dr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Tupper, the energetic premier of Nova Scotia, a conference to discuss the union of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, had been arranged at Charlottetown. The Canadian ministry obtained permission to send delegates to set before this meeting the wider prospect. Early in September the conference met, and so great was the impression made by the Canadian proposals, that it was resolved to discuss them at a more formal gathering at Quebec. Before returning home the Canadian delegates made a short tour through the Maritime Provinces, and attended a banquet at Halifax, at which impressive speeches were made by Brown and Macdonald.

On October 10th the conference met in Quebec. The place that had witnessed the decisive conflict between Frenchmen and Englishmen for supremacy in America was now to see French and English met together in a peaceful consultation aiming at the political organization of half the continent. Appropriate and historically significant was the fact that with universal approval the French-Canadian premier of Canada, Sir Etienne Taché, was selected as chairman. The leadership lost in arms in 1759 had thus been regained in the council room in 1864, a circumstance noted at the time as testifying no less to the genius of the defeated race than to the perfect equality of political opportunity accorded by the victors.

The conference at Quebec proclaimed the fact that within the British empire evolution had taken the place of revolution as the path of political development.

Eighty-eight years before, another conference of British colonists had met at Philadelphia to establish new political relations based upon revolt, and later to be established by prolonged conflict in arms. A great nation was founded, but at the price of animosities which a century of history has barely effaced. But at Quebec the conference met with the full approval of the people and parliament of the motherland. They were the free representatives of a free people, charged with the peaceful task of framing a political system adapted to the needs of a country which had before it an almost limitless horizon of expansion. They had the experience of both England and the neighbouring republic to draw upon—they had the model which each afforded to copy or refuse.

It was decided that the convention should conduct its deliberations with closed doors. The arguments for this course were strong. A new set of political problems was to be discussed—views would be modified as consideration proceeded—and delegates should not be prejudiced in forming final judgments by early expressions of opinion.

The ablest men of all sides of politics had met, not to fight old party battles or use old party cries, but to find how, by mutual concession, divergent interests could be harmonized for a great national end. In such a gathering appeals to the gallery would be singularly out of place. The utmost freedom of debate was thus assured, while publicity—that greatest of political safeguards—was guaranteed ultimately by the fact that the conclusions of the conference, matured in unrestrained debate, would be fully discussed by the press, on the platform, and in the legislatures before they could have constitutional effect.

The conference sat from October 10th till October 28th. Though towards the last its deliberations were hurried, and though several changes were eventually made in its proposals, the seventy-two resolutions which it passed embody the main lines on which Confederation was finally accomplished, and are a work of great political wisdom and sagacity. A mass of notes preserved by Sir John Macdonald still remains unedited in the hands of Mr. Pope, but from material that has been published the general trend of the negotiations can be followed. The war raging in the United States seemed to Canadian statesmen to show that the great vice of the American constitution was the vagueness which had enabled the seceding states to claim that they were independent and sovereign bodies, with full right to resume the powers which they had temporarily delegated to a central authority. Hence, from the first, it was determined to subordinate the provincial legislatures to the federal. " In framing the constitution " said Macdonald at the opening session, " care should be taken to avoid the mistakes and weaknesses of the United States' system, the primary error of which was the reservation to the different states of all powers not delegated to the general government. We must reverse this process by establishing a strong central government, to which shall belong all powers not specially conferred on the provinces. Canada, in my opinion, is better off as she stands than she would be as a member of a confederacy composed of five sovereign states, which would be the result if the powers of the local governments were not defined."

" Those who were at Charlottetown will remember," said Dr. Tupper on October 24th, " that it was finally specified there that all the powers not given to local, should be reserved to the federal, government. This was stated as being a prominent feature of the Canadian scheme, and it was said then that it was desirable to have a plan contrary to that adopted by the United States. It was a fundamental principle laid down by Canada and the basis of our negotiations." Macdonald indeed was strongly in favour of a legislative union, but the strong local patriotism of the Maritime Provinces, and still more that of Lower Canada, rendered such an idea impossible.

"I have again and again stated in the House," he said in the next year, " that, if practicable, I thought a legislative union would be preferable. I have always contended that if we could agree to have one government and one parliament legislating for the whole of these peoples, it would be the best, the cheapest, the most vigorous, and the strongest system of government that we could adopt. But, on looking at the subject at the conference, and discussing the matter, as we did, most unreservedly, with a desire to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, we found that such a system was impracticable. In the first place, it would not meet the assent of the people of Lower Canada, because they felt that, in their peculiar position,—being in a minority, with a different language, nationality, and religion from the majority,—in case of a junction with the other provinces, their institutions and their laws might be assailed, and their ancestral associations on which they prided themselves attacked and prejudiced; it was found that any proposition which involved the absorption of the individuality of Lower Canada,—if I may use the expression,—would not be received with favour by her people. We found too, that though their people speak the same language and enjoy the same system of law as Upper Canada, a system founded on the common law of England, there was as great a disinclination on the part of the people of the Maritime Provinces to lose their individuality as separate political organizations as we observed in the case of Lower Canada itself. Therefore we were forced to the conclusion that we must either abandon the idea of union altogether, or devise a system of union in which the separate provincial organizations would in some degree be preserved. So that those who were, like myself, in favour of a legislative union, were obliged to modify their views, and accept the project of a federal union as the only scheme practicable even for the Maritime Provinces."

Mr. DeCelles in his life of Cartier, in this series, produces some evidence for a remarkable story that, during the subsequent negotiations in London, Macdonald tried to force a legislative union upon his colleagues, hoping that the dissatisfaction in the recalcitrant provinces would die down when they were confronted with the *fait accompli*, and that he was only foiled by the refusal of Cartier. Though the idea may have crossed his mind, he must have known too well its impossibility to make such a proposal in any other spirit than that of whimsical jest. But it is evident that the great majority of the delegates at Quebec wished to make the central authority as powerful as was consistent with the federal principle, and that in this respect the Canadian constitution stands at the opposite pole from that of the United States. The long struggle for provincial rights to be described in Chapter IX, prevented the complete fulfilment of Macdonald's ideal, but the autonomy of the Canadian provinces is far more extensively curtailed than that of the American or Australian states.

The financial relations between the various provinces and the central authority proved a problem which taxed all the skill of Galt, Tilley, and the other financial experts among the delegates to whom this part of the negotiations was chiefly entrusted. The equitable distribution of the public debts of the various provinces, which were to be assumed by the Dominion, presented considerable difficulty. The commercial policy of the Maritime Provinces tended towards free trade, that of the Canadas to protection ; the Canadas had a municipal system which, in the Upper Province especially, had attained to a high degree of perfection, and which controlled numerous local matters, the expenses of which in the Maritime Provinces were paid from the provincial treasury. Though the solution reached has proved, in the main, satisfactory, it has been found necessary more than once to make amendments, and the agitation of Nova Scotia for "better terms" did much to embitter the early years of the Dominion.

The constitution of the Upper House absorbed a larger amount of time and anxious thought than its subsequent influence in the government of the country has justified. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had nominative upper chambers, while in the Canadas the legislative council had, since 1856.

been elective. In practice this addition to the already large number of elections had not proved a success; men of age and experience would not endure the trouble and uncertainty of an election, while the young and ambitious made the popular chamber their goal. Hence both Brown and Macdonald concurred in advocating a nominative upper chamber. To this they were also led by their wish to imitate as far as possible the British Constitution, Macdonald comparing the senators to so many life peers. Besides, such a chamber was an indispensable portion of the federal scheme, since the smaller provincial units of the Dominion would not have consented to federation unless the inequality of representation by population in the Commons had been balanced by the equal representation of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, and the Maritime Provinces taken as a group in the senate. In actual fact the Canadian senate has not, save in a very few exceptional instances, wielded any power at all corresponding to that of the House of Lords in England, or that of the senate in the United States. For this failure to realize the expectations of those who framed its constitution, Macdonald himself must be held largely responsible. An Upper House gets its weight either from ancient tradition and lineage, from being the choice of the electors, or from personal and collective ability, combined with impartiality, in its members. From the first two of these sources of prestige a nominated body like the senate is cut off. When Macdonald established the system of using his power of nomination to the senate only as an instrument to strengthen his party—to reward defeated candidates or faithful supporters, without much reference to ability—he struck at the very root of what makes an Upper House powerful in the confidence of the country. The original nominations to the senate included an equal proportion of Conservatives and Liberals, and it then furnished the germ for a very influential legislative body, but during his long subsequent tenure of office only a single Liberal senator was appointed by Macdonald. His example has been strictly followed by the Liberal party when in power. Had Macdonald used the same discretion in strengthening the senate that he did in strengthening the judiciary of the Dominion, the history of that chamber might have been one of increasing, rather than diminishing, usefulness and influence. His excuse, and that of other premiers, for the course actually followed, lies in the tyranny of party feeling. A more enlightened public opinion can alone supply the remedy.

The vexed question of representation by population was solved in a manner justly styled by Macdonald " equally ingenious and simple " since it granted this much desired boon without joining thereto his bugbear of manhood suffrage. " By adopting the representation of Lower Canada as a fixed standard," he said, "as the pivot on which the whole would turn—that province being the best suited for the purpose, on account of the comparatively permanent character of its population, and from its having neither the largest nor the least number of inhabitants, we have been enabled to overcome the difficulty I have mentioned. We have introduced the system of representation by population without the danger of an inconvenient increase in the number of representatives on the recurrence of each decennial period. The whole thing is worked by a simple Rule of Three. For instance, we have in Upper Canada 1,400,000 of a population ; in Lower Canada 1,100,000. Now, the proposition is simply this, if Lower Canada with its population of 1,100,000 has a right to sixty-five members, how many members should Upper Canada have, with its larger population of 1,400,000 ? The same rule applies to the other provinces, the proportion is always observed and the principle of representation by population carried out. If an increase is made, Lower Canada is still to remain the pivot on which the whole calculation will turn."

George Brown was satisfied with this solution of the question which had so long provided the chief motive power of his politics. The great principles of federation having been settled, unanimity on minor points was reached without much difficulty. For once the foremost leaders of party politics had nobly responded to the demand for higher aims and larger statesmanship.

CHAPTER VI

THE BIRTH OF THE DOMINION

1865 TO 1867

SO far the negotiations for Confederation had gone smoothly and satisfactorily; difficulties, doubts, and dangers were to fill the next two years. Nowhere, save perhaps in Ontario, was there any strong wave of popular enthusiasm for the new measure; it was promoted by thinkers and farseeing statesmen, amid the apathy, and in some sections even the sullenness, of the electorate. In Quebec, Dorion in Opposition appealed to the *habitants*' dread of being swamped by an English majority, and the appeal awakened a quick response. In the same province the English minority feared that their schools might be left to the tender mercies of the Roman Catholic majority, and claimed safeguards, delay in the guarantee of which led to the temporary resignation of Galt, their chief spokesman. But the fearless optimism of Cartier triumphed. He was strong in the support of the Catholic clergy who saw in Confederation the only refuge from union, whether peaceful or forcible, with the American republic, and the consequent loss of the cherished rights and privileges guaranteed to them by their compact with the British nation. Thus, not for the first time, did the enlightened selfishness of that great body save Canada.

In Nova Scotia opposition was organized by a number of prominent bankers and merchants in Halifax, who saw that the proposed union would throw open the province, hitherto their preserve, to commercial and financial rivals from Montreal and Toronto ; in the country districts the old prejudice against Canada was roused ; memories of bickering over the Intercolonial Railway were revived ; the intense local pride of the province was inflamed. Other local issues added their weight. In 1863 Dr. Tupper had succeeded in passing through the House a law establishing compulsory primary education ; its expense bore heavily upon the thrifty Scottish settlers, who took this opportunity of showing their discontent. In the same measure the refusal of separate schools to the Roman Catholics had angered the Irish voters, and though their large-minded archbishop ardently supported Confederation, his flock showed ominous signs of revolt. The agitation found a leader in Joseph Howe, long the popular idol of his native province, the brilliant champion of responsible government, the eloquent prophet of national unity before that great dream had even come upon the horizon of English statesmanship. But mingled with his large qualities Howe had some of the weaknesses of lesser men. He had been absent from the province in 1864 as imperial fishery commissioner, and on his return his vanity was piqued to find the scheme launched without his aid by Dr. Tupper, his rival in provincial politics. There seems no other adequate explanation than this of the attitude which he now took towards a measure which was on the direct line of his previous utterances and of his well-known aspirations. He threw himself into the reactionary movement, and, playing upon the prejudices of a people whom no one understood so well as he, lashed his province into a fury of opposition.

Somewhat similar cries were raised in New Brunswick, and doubts especially were thrown upon the sincerity of the pledges given in regard to the proposed Intercolonial Railway. In March, 1865, the local government, which had accepted Confederation, appealed to the people, and was overwhelmingly defeated—in Macdonald's judgment because time had not been given for the education of public opinion. Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island withdrew from the negotiations; in Nova Scotia, Dr. Tupper, influenced by these checks, postponed further action until he could feel sure of carrying the measure in the legislature. The situation was one of grave anxiety. Writing afterwards to Mr. Tilley, Macdonald said: "The failure in the Maritime Provinces caused Canada the greatest embarrassment. It perilled the existence of the government, and what was of more consequence, it raised the hopes of the American or annexation party ; it discouraged the Loyalists, and it shook the faith of the English people in the permanence of the connection with Great Britain."

Amid the blasts of this unexpected storm of opposition, Macdonald stood firm. On February 3rd, 1865, he introduced into parliament the resolutions adopted at the Quebec conference. The debates which ensued were worthy of the greatness of the subject. Macdonald, Brown, Cartier, Galt, D'Arcy McGee and others eloquently defended the proposals, which were opposed by Holton, Dorion, Dunkin and Sandfield Macdonald. A high level of statesmanlike grasp and of insight was reached, and in face of so grave a problem personal recriminations were abandoned. Only one or two characteristic sentences, illustrating his attitude of mind in dealing with the question, can here be given from Macdonald's speech in moving the resolution. "It seemed" he said, "to all the statesmen assembled [at Quebec] . . . . . it was clear to them all, that the best interests and present and future prosperity of British North America would be promoted by a federal union under the Crown of Great Britain. And it seems to me as to them, and I think it will so appear to the people of this country, that, if we wish to be a great people, if we wish to form—using the expression which was sneered at the other evening—a great nationality, commanding the respect of the world, able to hold our own against all opponents, and to defend those institutions we prize; if we wish to have one system of government, and to establish a commercial union with unrestricted free trade between the people of the five provinces, belonging, as they do, to the same nation, obeying the same sovereign, owing the same allegiance, and being, for the most part, of the same blood and lineage; if we wish to be able to afford each other the means of mutual defence and support against aggression and attack, this can only be obtained by a union of some kind between the scattered and weak colonies composing the British North American provinces."

And again in conclusion: "I would again implore the House not to let this opportunity pass. It is an opportunity which may never recur. If we do not take advantage of the time; if we show ourselves unequal to the occasion, it may never return, and we shall hereafter bitterly and unavailingly regret having failed to embrace the happy opportunity now afforded of founding a great nation under the fostering care of Great Britain, and our Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria."

There was force in the objection raised by Sandfield Macdonald that so vital a change should not be passed without being submitted to the people either at a general election or by plebiscite. But so far as the Canadas were concerned, Macdonald was probably right in the view he expressed to a correspondent early in February, 1865 : " The Confederation has now been before the country for some time, and it seems to meet with general, if not universal, favour. I hear of no meetings against it, and as yet there have been no petitions transmitted adverse to the policy. Under the circumstances the government have a right to assume, as well as the legislature, that the scheme in principle meets with the approbation of the country."

At any rate, in the interests of the great scheme, Macdonald could not afford delay, and on the eleventh of March the resolutions were passed in the House of Assembly by a vote of ninety-one to thirty-three. Further analysis of the vote shows that the Upper Canadian representatives were fifty-four to eight, those of Lower Canada thirty-seven to twenty-five. Earlier in the session the legislative council had carried a similar motion by forty-five to fifteen. A mission, consisting of Macdonald, Brown, Cartier and Galt, was immediately sent to England to confer with Her Majesty's government upon the following subjects:—

1. Upon the proposed Confederation of the British North American provinces, and the means whereby it can be most speedily effected.

2. Upon the arrangements necessary for the defence of Canada in the event of war arising with the United States, and the extent to which the

same should be shared between Great Britain and Canada.

3. Upon the steps to be taken with reference to the reciprocity treaty, and the rights conferred by it upon the United States.

4. Upon the arrangements necessary for the settlement of the North-West Territory and Hudson's Bay Company's claims.

5. And generally upon the existing critical state of affairs by which Canada is most seriously affected.

The home government, which was growing weary of protecting a scattered fringe of colonies along the American frontier, was eager for Confederation. " Our scheme has given prodigious satisfaction here" wrote Brown. " The ministry, the Conservatives, and the Manchester men are all delighted with it, and everything Canadian has gone up in public estimation immensely." Indeed the measure might never have been carried but for the pressure exerted by the home authorities. To Lord Monck was largely due the entrance of George Brown into the coalition ministry. " The means used and the influence exerted were such only as he was justified in exerting in a great crisis," writes Mr. Brown's biographer and confidant. In New Brunswick the lieutenant-governor, Mr. Arthur Hamilton Gordon (now Lord Stanmore) had been at first opposed to Confederation, and is believed to have encouraged its opponents in the election of 1865. A visit to England and communications with Mr. Cardwell, the colonial secretary, altered his opinion, and in 1866 he exerted himself with such effect that as the result of some rather arbitrary conduct he was enabled to form a pro-Confederation ministry, which on appealing to the people was sustained by a large majority.

In Nova Scotia, Sir Fenwick Williams, though less active, heartily coöperated with Dr. Tupper, and early in 1866 the administration, while compelled to throw overboard the Quebec resolutions, passed a motion authorizing the appointment of delegates "to arrange with the imperial government a scheme of union which will effectively ensure just provision for the rights and interests of the province."

Meanwhile, in Upper Canada, the death of Sir E. P. Taché, in July, 1865, had momentarily imperilled the coalition. Lord Monck called on Macdonald, as senior member of the cabinet, to form a ministry. This he endeavoured to do, but while George Brown had consented to be on an equality with his rival under the mild control of Taché, he had no mind to serve under him, and threatened to withdraw from the ministry. Rather than imperil their union, Macdonald waived his personal feelings, and suggested Cartier. To him also Brown objected, and a compromise was finally made by the formation of a government in which

Brown and Macdonald sat as equals under the nominal presidency of Sir Narcisse Belleau, a prominent member of the legislative council. But even under Taché, Macdonald's ability had made him the real head and under Sir Narcisse Belleau the friction was even more transparent. Brown found his position unendurable, and early in December resigned from the cabinet. His ostensible motive was a difference with his colleagues on the question of reciprocity with the United States; but while this difference really existed, and was something more than a mere cloak for his action, his chief reason was undoubtedly a sense of the falsity of his position. While resuming in private life and in the columns of the *Globe* an attitude of hostility to Macdonald, he continued to give a loyal support to the project of Confederation.

By the end of June, 1866, the changed aspect of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick rendered further progress possible. The Canadian parliament, in which action had been delayed from fear of arousing the suspicions of the Maritime Provinces, was summoned, and passed resolutions providing for the local legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada. This necessary delay offended the Irish impetuosity of Lord Monck. "I have come to the deliberate conviction," he wrote to Macdonald, "that if from any cause this session of parliament shall be allowed to pass without the completion of our portion of the union scheme, a crisis in my career will have been reached, and that my sense of duty to the people of Canada and to myself leave me no alternative except to apply for my immediate recall." It is noteworthy that this letter was sent, not to the premier, but to Macdonald. His answer, at once courteous and firm, is too long to quote in full, but two paragraphs may be given.

"With respect to the best mode of guiding the measure through the House, I think I must ask your Excellency to leave something to my Canadian parliamentary experience. As leader of the House I am responsible for the successful conduct of government measures, and I can assure you that I have the best means of knowing that it is important that the principle (at all events) of the financial measures of the government should be submitted to parliament, and receive its sanction before there is any serious debate on the local constitutions.

"As to the personal portion of your note, all I can say, as a sincere friend of your Excellency, is that you must take no such step as you indicate. To you belongs, as having initiated, encouraged, and I may now almost say completed, the great scheme of union, all the *kudos* and all the position, (not lightly to be thrown away) which must result from being the founder of a nation."

This reply relieved the anxiety of His Excellency, and in due time the local constitutions were successfully guided through the House. Meanwhile a change of ministry in England, and the adjournment of the imperial parliament caused further delay, but in November the various delegates met in London, and on the fourth of December began the conference which was to evolve the British North America Act. It must be remembered that the Canadas alone had approved of the Quebec resolutions. Nova Scotia had merely passed the short general statement already quoted, and its example had been followed by New Brunswick. But Macdonald resolved at all costs to hold to the results of the conference which he had so largely inspired, and he was willing to take all risks. Behind the smiling good-humour and readiness to compromise on non-essentials was concealed a dogged determination to gain the great object he had in view. A letter to Mr. Tilley, in which he opposes the wish of the delegates from Nova Scotia to begin deliberations in October, brings out this fact in the characteristic way.

"It appears to us to be important that the bill should not be finally settled until just before the meeting of the British parliament. The measure must be carried *per saltum* and no echo of it must reverberate through the British provinces until it becomes law. If the delegation had been complete in England, and they had prepared the measure in August last, it would have been impossible to keep its provisions secret until next January. There will be few important clauses in the measure that will not offend some interest or individual, and its publication would excite a new and fierce agitation on this side of the Atlantic. Even Canada, which has hitherto been nearly a unit on the subject of Confederation, would be stirred to its depths if any material alteration were made. The Act once passed and beyond remedy, the people would soon learn to be reconciled to it."

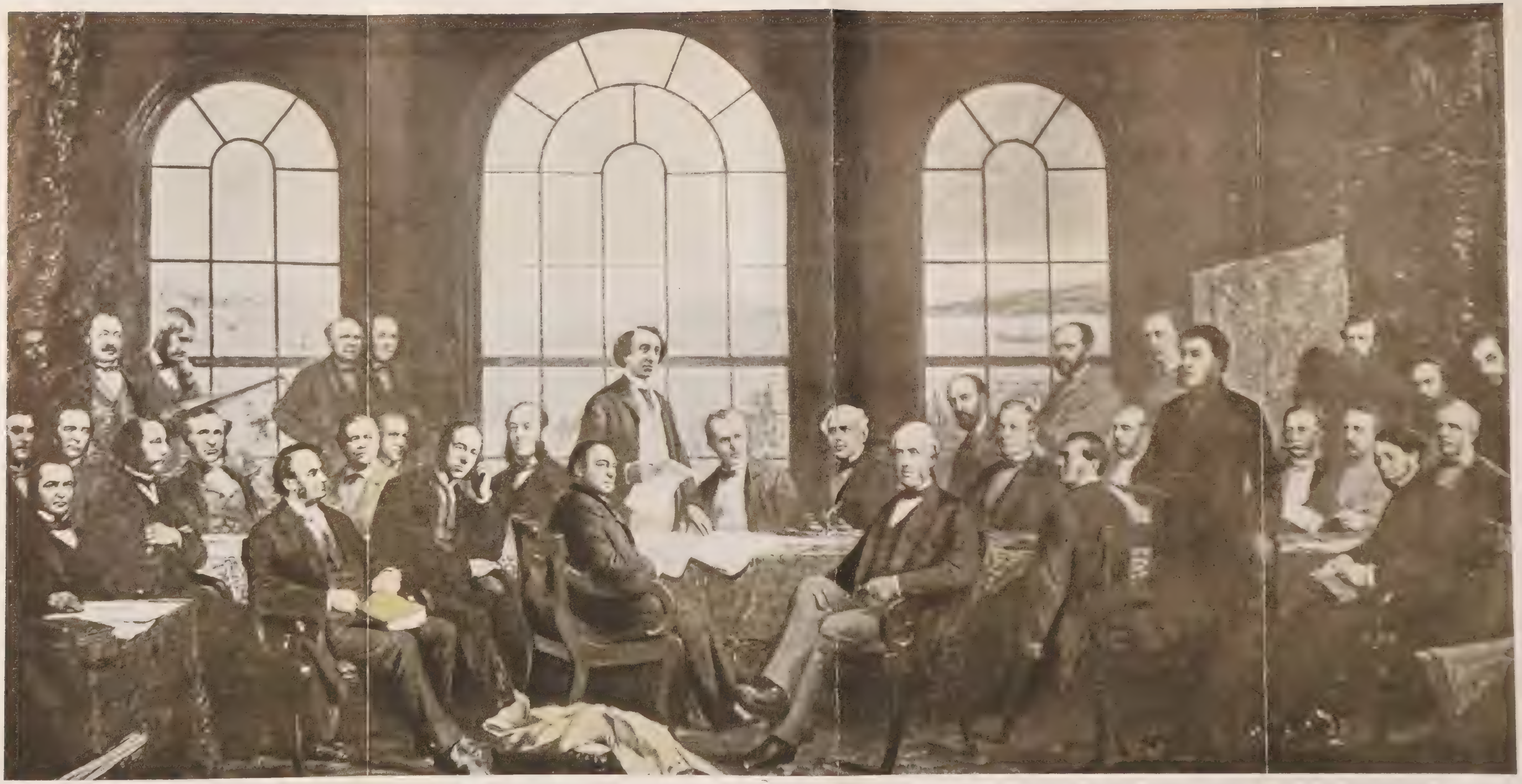
From the 4th to the 24th of December the conference sat in London, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, and a series of sixty-nine resolutions were finally passed, based on those of the Quebec conference. It was an anxious time for Macdonald, and all his patience and resourcefulness were taxed. Sir F. Rogers (afterwards Lord Blachford), who was at the time permanent under-secretary for the colonies, has left a striking description of his wariness and skill. He says :—

"It was under Mr. Cardwell's rule that the project was matured ; but it was during Lord Carnarvon's secretaryship that the deputation arrived. They held many meetings at which I was always present, Lord Carnarvon was in the chair, and I was rather disappointed in his power of presidency. Macdonald was the ruling genius and spokesman, and I was greatly struck by his power of management and adroitness. The French delegates were keenly on the watch for anything that weakened their securities ; on the contrary, the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick delegates were very jealous of concession to the *arrièrée* province; while one main stipulation in favour of the French was open to constitutional objections on the part of the home government. Macdonald had to argue the question with the home government on a point on which the slightest divergence from the narrow line already agreed on in Canada was watched for—here by the French, and there by the English—as eager dogs watch a rat hole ; a snap on one side might have provoked a snap on the other, and put an end to the concord. He stated and argued the case with cool, ready fluency, while at the same time you saw that every word was measured, and that while he was making for a point ahead, he was never for a moment unconscious of the rocks among which he had to steer."

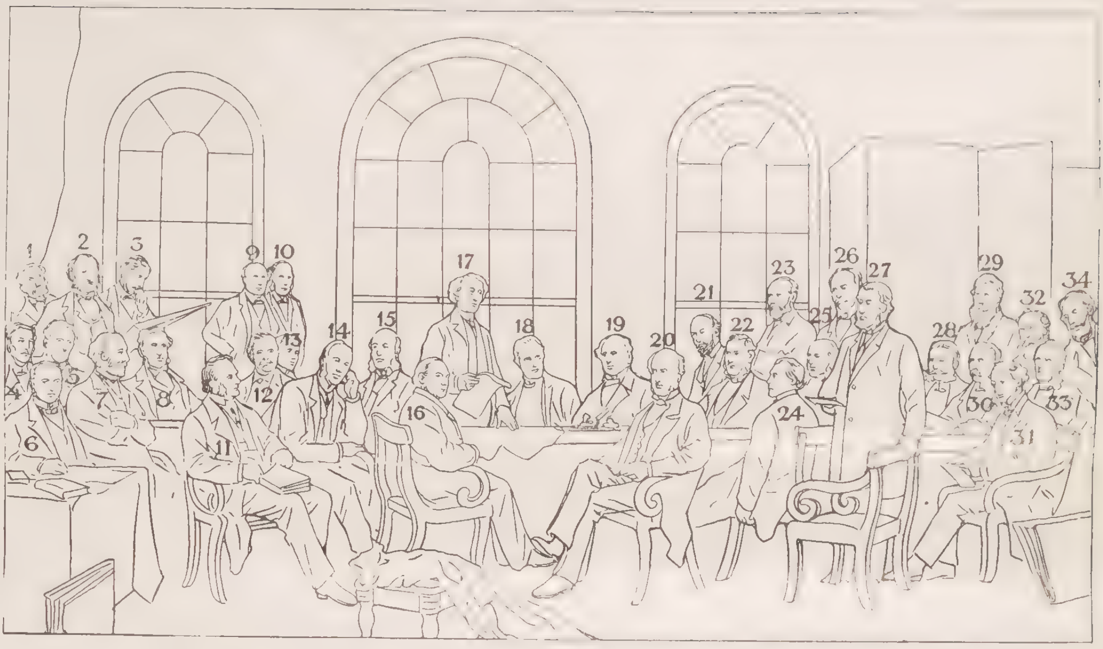
Early in January the sittings of the conference were resumed, and a series of draft bills drawn up, which were revised by the imperial law officers. In February the completed bill was submitted to the House, and on March 29th received the royal assent, under the title of the "British North America Act, 1867." On the twenty-second of May a royal proclamation was issued at Windsor Castle, appointing the first of July as the date upon which it should come into force, and this last date has ever since been regarded as the birthday of the Dominion of Canada.

Great as had been his success in the Confederation negotiations, a success which won for him the imperial title of Knight Commander of the Bath, Macdonald was not wholly satisfied. The cause of his discontent he has himself stated in a letter written in 1889 to Lord Knutsford.

"A great opportunity was lost in 1867, when the Dominion was formed out of the several provinces. This remarkable event in the history of the British empire passed almost without notice. The new Confederation had, at the time of the union, about the same population as the thirteen colonies when they rebelled and formed a nation imbued with the bitterest feelings of hostility towards England—feelings, which, by the way, exist in as offensive a form now as they did on the day of the declaration of independence. The declaration of all the British North American provinces, that they desired as one Dominion to remain a portion of the empire, showed what wise government and generous treatment would do, and should have marked an epoch in the history of England. This would probably have been the case had Lord Carnarvon, who as colonial minister had sat at the cradle of the new Dominion, remained in office. His ill-omened resignation was followed by the appointment of the late Duke of Buckingham, who had as his adviser the then governor-general, Lord Monck, both good men, certainly, but quite unable, from the



THE FATHERS OF CONFEDERATION



1. Hewitt Barnard (1826–1893), Secretary.
2. W. A. Henry (1816–1888), Nova Scotia.
3. E. Palmer (1809–1889), Prince Edward Island.
4. W. H. Steeves (1814–1873), New Brunswick.
5. Charles Fisher (1808–1880), New Brunswick.
6. Edward Whalen (1824–1867), Prince Edward Island.
7. Colonel John Hamilton Gray (1811–1887), Prince Edward Island.
8. George Coles (1810–1875), Prince Edward Island.
9. Ambrose Shea (1818–1905), Newfoundland.
10. F. B. T. Carter (1819–1900), Newfoundland.
11. Samuel Leonard Tilley (1818–1896), New Brunswick.
12. J. C. Chapais (1812–1885), Canada.
13. E. B. Chandler (1800–1880), New Brunswick.
14. Alexander Campbell (1821–1892), Canada.
15. Adams G. Archibald (1814–1892), Nova Scotia.
16. **Hector Langevin** (1826–1906), Canada.
17. **John A. Macdonald** (1815–1891), Canada.
18. Georges Étienne Cartier (1814–1873), Canada
19. Étienne Pascal Taché (1795–1865), Canada.
20. George Brown (1818–1880), Canada.
21. Thomas H. Haviland (1822–1895), Prince Edward Island.
22. Alexander T. Galt (1817–1893), Canada.
23. Peter Mitchell (1824–1899), New Brunswick.
24. Oliver Mowat (1820–1903), Canada.
25. J. Cockburn (1819–1883), Canada.
26. R. B. Dickie (1811–1903), Nova Scotia.
27. Charles Tupper (1821–1912), Nova Scotia.
28. J. H. Gray (1814–1889), New Brunswick.
29. W. H. Pope (1825–1879), Prince Edward Island.
30. William McDougall (1822–1905), Canada.
31. Thomas D'Arcy McGee (1825–1868), Canada.
32. A. A. Macdonald (1829–1915), Prince Edward Island.
33. J. McCully (1809–1877), Nova Scotia.
34. J. M. Johnson (1818–1868), New Brunswick.

constitution of their minds, to rise to the occasion. The union was treated by them much as if the British North America Act were a private bill unifying two or three English parishes. Had a different course been pursued—for instance, had United Canada been declared to be an auxiliary kingdom, as it was in the Canadian draft of the bill,—I feel sure (almost) that the Australian colonies would, ere this, have been applying to be placed in the same rank as 'The Kingdom of Canada.'" He adds in a postscript: "On reading the above over, I see that it will convey the impression that the change of title from Kingdom to Dominion was caused by the Duke of Buckingham. This is not so. It was made at the instance of Lord Derby, then foreign minister, who feared the name would wound the sensibilities of the Yankees."

On July 1st the new Dominion came into being. Ontario was jubilant, Quebec doubtful and expectant, New Brunswick sullen, Nova Scotia rebellious. Many of the newspapers in the Maritime Provinces came out that day with their columns draped in black. Confederation had been carried, but the problem remained of holding it together. All the ingenuity of Macdonald, all the firmness of the colonial office were to be sorely tried before the ship of state was steered safely out of reach of shoals and breakers.

CHAPTER VII

FIRST PRIME MINISTER OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA

1867 TO 1872

THE course of events leading up to Confederation and the unquestioned leadership displayed by Macdonald in the conferences at Quebec and Westminster had distinctly marked him out as the one man to whom the task of inaugurating the machinery of Confederation should be entrusted. Public expectation in this regard was soon realized, and on March 21st, 1867, he writes from London to his sister in Canada that Lord Monck, who was then in England, had charged him with the formation of a government.

Meanwhile, a month earlier, his private outlook on life had been greatly changed by his marriage to Miss Bernard, a daughter of the Hon. Thomas J. Bernard, of the Jamaica privy council. The wedding took place on February sixteenth, at St. George's, Hanover Square, London. The circumstances of his life gave this event a peculiar significance. The prolonged illness of his first wife, her death in 1858, and the long periods of necessary residence at the various seats of government away from his Kingston home, had up to this time left him without that atmosphere of domestic comfort and care which means so much in the lives of men absorbed in public affairs. The circumstances may in a measure account for a lack of self-control in his personal habits which marked this earlier part of his life, and furnished to his opponents a weapon of which they were not slow to avail themselves. Henceforward his political career and private life were alike deeply influenced by one whose vigorous and masculine intellect eminently fitted her to share in the toils and sympathize with the ambitions of a strenuous public life. The newly married couple were soon after presented at court, the queen on this occasion granting a special audience to Macdonald and his four principal associates in the conference in recognition of the significance of the work they had just accomplished. Macdonald records his own reply to a remark of Her Majesty in regard to the importance of the work and the loyal spirit in which the deliberations had been carried on. "We have desired in this measure to declare in the most solemn and emphatic manner our resolve to be under the sovereignty of Your Majesty and Your Majesty's family forever."

Early in the month of May, Macdonald returned to Canada, and began the critical business of setting in motion the governmental system created by the Act of Confederation. It will be seen that he had been very singularly prepared for the larger work to be taken upon his shoulders. More than twenty years of experience in provincial legislation had given him an unrivalled knowledge of parliamentary tactics and consummate skill in carrying through the business of a popular assembly. His natural quickness of perception in measuring the character and capacity of those with whom he had to deal had been sharpened by the years of keen struggle to maintain against heavy odds the position and influence of his party. The manipulation of men with whom he had little personal sympathy, but who had to be reckoned with in the government of a country including in its population the most diverse elements, had become with him a second nature. He had learned to find the implements of his purposes in the passions, prejudices, even the weaknesses of men, no less than in their higher qualities of mind and character.

In the formation of his first cabinet Macdonald was confronted by great difficulties. The newly united provinces insisted on the application of the federal principle in the distribution of federal offices, and it was finally decided that Ontario was entitled to five representatives, Quebec to four and the Maritime Provinces to two each. This, however, disposed of one difficulty only. The Irish Catholics insisted on having a representative. So did the English Protestant minority of the province of Quebec. In Ontario the Liberals claimed three of the five members; in Quebec the Conservatives demanded all four. The necessity for satisfying so many local and religious interests led, as often in Canada, to the omission from the cabinet of men whom a wider principle of selection would have included, but Macdonald had to do his best with the material at his disposal and the parties to be conciliated. As finally chosen the cabinet was made up as follows:—

The Hon. John Alexander Macdonald—minister of justice and attorney-general.

The Hon. Georges Etienne Cartier—minister of militia and defence.

The Hon. Alexander Tilloch Galt—minister of finance.

The Hon. Alexander Campbell—postmaster-general.

The Hon. Jean Charles Chapais—minister of agriculture.

The Hon. Hector Louis Langevin—secretary of state for Canada.

The Hon. Edward Kenny—receiver-general.

The Hon. William MacDougall—minister of public works.

The Hon. William Pearce Howland—minister of inland revenue.

The Hon. Adam Johnston Fergusson Blair—president of the privy council.

The Hon. Samuel Leonard Tilley—minister of customs.

The Hon. Peter Mitchell—minister of marine and fisheries.

The Hon. Adams George Archibald—secretary of state for the provinces.

It was a coalition administration, Conservatives and Reformers being about equally represented. As previously agreed upon, five of its members represented Ontario, and four Quebec, while Nova Scotia and New Brunswick contributed two each. Seven belonged to the Conservative party, and six had been Liberals. Mr. Kenny represented the Irish Catholics and Mr. Galt the English-speaking minority in Quebec. "I do not want it to be felt by any section in the country," Macdonald said, "that they have no representative in the cabinet and no influence in the government, . . I desire to ask those who were in favour of this system of government, and who wished to see it satisfactorily carried out."

Such a cabinet proved, like all coalitions, extremely difficult to manage. The distribution of patronage, always carried out in Canada on strictly party lines, was a cause of endless trouble. Accusations of treachery from old Conservative friends, of perfidy to the compact from Liberals, soon began to reach the premier. "It is rather hard on me," writes Sir John two or three years later, "that I should be pitched into by Mr. MacDougall for not taking care of the Reformers, and, at the same time, be grumbled at by my own party for giving everything to that portion of Her Majesty's liege subjects in Ontario."

There were other difficulties of a more personal nature. Galt, whose reflective and independent temper had always made him an unsatisfactory party man, resigned towards the end of 1867 for some reason never fully explained, and was succeeded by Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Rose. He too, was for private reasons compelled to resign a year later, and Macdonald was much perplexed to find a successor.

Just at this time Sir Francis Hincks returned to Canada, which he had not seen since 1854, having in the meantime filled imperial offices in several colonies. Like Sandfield Macdonald, he was an old Reformer, but at open enmity with George Brown. His former triumphs as inspector-general were remembered, and he was at once given the vacant portfolio. He made an efficient finance minister, but his long absence had put him out of touch with the men and with the ideals of the new Dominion, and the appointment did not fulfil Sir John's hopes of securing a leader in Ontario fearless and energetic enough to confront George Brown.

The formation of the government was the signal for a determined attempt on the part of the latter, and those of his party who sympathized with him, to break up the coalition. The Liberal leader claimed that, Confederation having been achieved, the compact made to carry it was at an end. Macdonald held that the task of setting in motion the new machinery of government was the most important part of the whole business, and that till this was done patriotic duty pointed to the maintenance of the coalition. With this view the other Reform members of the cabinet from Ontario, MacDougall and Howland, agreed; and on the same principle Fergusson Blair, also a Reformer, had some months before accepted the place of Mr. Brown as president of the council. All three had now taken office in the new Dominion administration. George Brown denounced their course as political treason, and Macdonald's attitude as merely a clever device for keeping himself in power. MacDougall and Howland defended the position they had taken before a large Reform convention called in June, 1867, to consider this and other party questions. The convention decided against them and against the continuance of the coalition, but the ministers remained firm, and in the first general election for the Dominion parliament which came on soon after, they received the approval of their constituents, while Brown was defeated. The general result was a large majority for the new government.

It cannot be doubted that keen personal rivalry between the two leaders was a large factor in the controversy. George Brown found it impossible to serve under, and very difficult to act with, Macdonald. The result was that the country was deprived of his services in the first parliament of that Confederation for securing which he had made such considerable sacrifices of personal and party feeling. While continuing, as a journalist, to take an active part in all political discussions, he did not again seek a seat in the popular branch of the legislature, although he accepted an appointment to the senate from the Mackenzie administration in 1874.

While the party which Macdonald led took the name of Liberal-Conservative to mark its mixed composition, it is scarcely surprising, after this action of the Reformers, to find his cabinet taking a more Conservative complexion as necessary changes were made. Within three years after Confederation, Fergusson Blair was dead; the career of William MacDougall had ended somewhat unsatisfactorily in connection with his efforts to fulfil the mission assigned to him in 1869 as lieutenant-governor of Manitoba; Howland and Archibald had passed into honourable retirement as lieutenant-governors of Ontario and Manitoba; Tilley and Mitchell, formerly Liberals, had yielded to the large national ideals and personal fascination of Sir John, and were among the most loyal and efficient of his colleagues. Of the later appointments, Howe, who might once have counted as a great Liberal force in any cabinet, was broken in health, and by taking office had lost his old popularity; while Dr.

Tupper, the Conservative leader in Nova Scotia, who joined the cabinet in 1870, soon became recognized, by right of energy and ability, as Macdonald's first lieutenant. Meanwhile in these first years Macdonald's own leadership was unquestioned. During the early days of Confederation, no statesman from New Brunswick or Nova Scotia, however brilliant, could have aspired to the premiership, nor indeed could a French-Canadian have hoped for this supreme prize of political life. In later years two premiers and a leader of Opposition taken from Nova Scotia; a French-Canadian premier holding the first place in parliament and the unquestioned leadership of one of the parties in the State for many years, bear eloquent testimony to the influence of Confederation in obliterating alike provincial and racial lines of distinction. They furnish the best evidence of the genuineness of the national bond created by the British North America Act.

While Macdonald cannot be absolved from the charge of having manipulated the coalition cabinet of 1867 in favour of his earlier political associates, and indeed may fairly be excused for doing so, no prime minister was ever more free from that fear of able colleagues which has been so often displayed by political leaders from Walpole onwards.

Subject to the restrictions entailed by the federal nature of the cabinet, he always sought to gather round him the ablest men of his own party.

If complaints were made, he sometimes replied, "Give me better wood and I will make you a better cabinet;" and he was quick to recognize and encourage rising ability. Not the least striking testimony to his genius is the loyal service given him by men of the imperious will of Sir Charles Tupper and Peter Mitchell, of the organizing ability and great local influence of Sir Hector Langevin, of the unimpeachable integrity of Sir Alexander Campbell and Sir Leonard Tilley.

The Dominion had its birthday on July 1st, 1867; the first general election to the new parliament took place during August and September with the result above noted. No weighty opposition to Macdonald's cabinet had yet been organized.

George Brown's impulsive acceptance of office in 1864, and his still more impulsive withdrawal at the end of the next year, placed the Liberal party in Ontario in a very awkward position. They stood committed to Confederation, and had three representatives in the government which their leader now called upon them to oppose. To the argument that the coalition had been formed for a definite purpose, on the attainment of which it was, *ipso facto*, dissolved, Macdonald's reply that the object was not achieved until the new machine had been made to work seemed conclusive, and appealed to the common sense of the electorate. Thus when the first session of parliament of the Dominion of

Canada met on November 6th, 1867, an Opposition could hardly be said to exist.

Ontario had returned only fifteen opponents of the government out of eighty-two; Quebec twelve out of sixty-five; New Brunswick three out of fifteen. Nova Scotia had indeed been swept for repeal, and of its nineteen members Dr. Charles Tupper, representing the county of Cumberland, alone supported the government. But the other eighteen refused to coalesce with the Opposition from Ontario and Quebec. The premier was to have many difficulties and discouragements in his task of getting the new Dominion under way, but he had the great advantage of a large majority, and as he himself said "of a clean slate." In the organization of the provincial governments he showed great judgment and skill.

No one has ever disputed Sir John Macdonald's knowledge of men, but even he never did anything more clever than in putting John Sandfield Macdonald at the head of the local government in the province of Ontario, and P. J. O. Chauveau in the same position in Quebec. In Ontario the great question of representation by population had been settled by the British North America Act, and the chief desire of the province was for honest and economical administration. This, Sandfield Macdonald was eminently fitted to give. A Scottish Catholic, he was usually at issue with the priesthood on the question of separate schools; a Liberal, his stubborn will and gibing tongue had brought him into sharp conflict with George Brown ; his Scottish caution and dislike for theorists had led him to oppose Confederation, but he was essentially a practical man, and in the presence of its successful accomplishment felt no desire to sulk in his tent, or to endeavour to undo the results attained. For four years he gave to Ontario an honest, economical and not unprogressive administration, which more and more assumed a (politically) conservative character.

In the face of Cartier and the Catholic clergy, Dorion had for a moment come near to swaying the people of Quebec with the argument that Confederation was a plot of their Protestant foes to anglicize and americanize the province, to break the triple bond of "*Notre langue, notre religion, nos lois.*" To this the appointment of a burning "*patriote*" like Chauveau, the friend and former follower of Papineau, but now one of the staunchest upholders of Catholicism as well as of the best literary and social traditions of French Canada, was the most effective reply. With Chauveau at Quebec and Cartier at Ottawa the *habitant* felt his fears subside.

In Nova Scotia alone was the Opposition triumphant. Joseph Howe with his magnificent oratory swept the province for repeal. The old mistrust of Canada rose to white heat, and even to-day it is impossible not to acknowledge the force of the plea that so all-important a change in the constitution should have been submitted directly to the people. Of the nineteen members sent to Ottawa, eighteen were pledged to support repeal, as were thirty-six out of thirty-eight members of the local assembly. This latter body passed an address to Her Majesty praying her not to " reduce this free, happy, and hitherto self-governing province to the degraded condition of a servile dependency of Canada," and a delegation headed by Howe was sent to London to lay their petition at the foot of the throne.

From the early stages of this struggle Sir John wisely held aloof. The fever had to run its course, and any outside interference might have been fatal. Yet assured though he was of the sympathy of the British government, and of the unlikelihood of its reopening the question, he felt that Howe's mission must not be unchallenged. To send a member of the cabinet to counteract his influence would have been unwise, as seeming to imply that the Canadian government considered repeal a subject for discussion. But Dr. Tupper, Howe's old and most powerful opponent in Nova Scotia, who had patriotically waived his own claims to cabinet position in order to solve Macdonald's difficulties in balancing interests, was sent to confront him on the wider field. Both fought magnificently, but Howe's struggle, notwithstanding that he enlisted in his favour the eloquence of John Bright, was from the first hopeless.

An interview in London between the two men, in which Tupper pointed out the hopelessness of the task Howe had in hand, the ruin that would be brought by continued agitation to national ideals which both had cherished, and his own determination to fight out the contest to the bitter end, closing with an appeal to Howe's patriotism, was a dramatic episode in the discussion, and probably did much to open the eyes of the great tribune of the people to the gravity of the situation and to shake his resolve. He returned to report to his fellow Nova Scotians that for any movement tending to break up the Confederation they could not rely upon British sympathy. The attitude of the British government had convinced Howe that the question was closed, and he was far too loyal an imperialist to adopt the cry for annexation which was soon raised by the baser sort of Nova Scotian politicians.

Now was the time for Sir John Macdonald. He at once determined to win over Howe to Confederation, and towards the close of July, 1868, visited Halifax for that purpose, accompanied by Cartier, William MacDougall, Tupper, and John Sandfield Macdonald, the latter an intimate friend of Howe. For the Conservative premier of the new Dominion to bring with him an anti-Confederation Liberal to aid in enticing Howe within the Confederate fold was a masterpiece of political strategy. The interview between the two statesmen cleared the way, and was followed up by a correspondence, printed in full by Mr. Pope, which strikingly illustrates Macdonald's diplomatic skill in conducting a delicate negotiation. Nova Scotia's most tangible grievance was financial, and this Macdonald promised to deal with "not in a rigid but in the most liberal spirit." The situation was urgent. Howe reported a widespread feeling in favour of annexation to the United States, " and the visit of a prominent American politician for the purpose, scarcely disguised, of encouraging the annexation feeling with offers of men and money."

If an additional grant could save the new born Dominion from disintegration it was no time for haggling. " Better terms " were promptly conceded by order-in-council on January 25th, 1869, and five days later Joseph Howe entered the Dominion cabinet. The local government endeavoured for a time to maintain the agitation against Confederation which had brought them into power, and things were said on the floors of the assembly which verged on disloyalty. Bereft of its leader, however, the agitation soon died away, and after the general election of 1872, only one antagonist of Macdonald and Howe was returned.

The strength of provincialism with which the idea of Confederation had been confronted in Nova Scotia inclined Macdonald to use great caution in his further efforts to "round off" the Dominion by drawing in the other Maritime Provinces. The smaller the community the more strongly entrenched seemed to be the provincial spirit. Newfoundland had been represented at the Quebec conference, but its delegates refused to commit themselves to the union. The negotiations then broken off were renewed in 1868, and in the following year a delegation from the island visited Ottawa, when Macdonald succeeded in arranging what seemed to be satisfactory terms of entrance into the Dominion. They were, however, decisively rejected on being submitted to the electors of the island a few months later. A proposal to add Newfoundland to the Dominion by an Act of the imperial parliament he refused to encourage. "There can be no doubt of the power to do so," he says in a letter to the governor-general, " but the exercise of it would seem to me very unadvisable. We have had an infinity of trouble with Nova Scotia, although both the government and the legislature agreed to the union, because the question was not submitted to the electors. We have at a large cost settled that difficulty. The case would be much worse in Newfoundland, where there was a dissolution and an appeal to the people for the express purpose of getting their deliberate opinion for or against the union. They have decided for the present against it, and I think we should accept their decision." But he regretted the result of the election as postponing the completion of the imperial policy of uniting all the British North American possessions under one government, and he looked forward to the "inevitable reaction that must take place in a year or two."

In this he failed to gauge accurately the tenacity of insular sentiment which has kept the "ancient colony" apart from the Dominion for forty years, in spite of the manifest advantages, both from a local and a national point of view, that would flow from union. While he attached no vital importance to the refusal of Newfoundland in 1868, it can scarcely be believed that, had he been alive in 1893, he would have missed the opportunity then offered of adding the island to the Dominion for the sake of the half-million or million dollars which blocked an agreement.

Opposition almost as vehement presented itself in Prince Edward Island. The electors had decisively rejected the proposals of the Quebec conference in 1865, formally declaring that such a union as was suggested "would prove politically, commercially and financially disastrous to the rights and interests of the people." The same opinion was reiterated still more vigorously in the following year, when the legislature declared by resolution that no terms Canada could offer would be acceptable. The overwhelming nature of the opposition to Confederation at this time may be inferred from the fact that only ninety-four electors in the whole island could be found to sign an address of thanks to the seven members of the legislature who supported the scheme. The colony was therefore not represented at the Westminster conference which finally settled the terms of the British North America Act. This rejection of Confederation seemed to Macdonald a much more serious matter than that of Newfoundland. He writes to the governor-general in December, 1869, in the letter last quoted : " Canada is more directly interested in the immediate acquisition of Prince Edward Island, from its proximity to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the extent of its fisheries. Neither the imperial government nor Canada can carry out satisfactorily any policy in the matter of the fisheries under present circumstances, and most unpleasant complications with the American fishermen may ensue. It will, besides, become a rendezvous for smugglers, and, in fact, be as great a nuisance to us as the Isle of Man was in the days of old to England, before its purchase from the Duke of Athol. We must endeavour to get Her Majesty's government to help us as much as possible in our attempts to conciliate the islanders, of which, I am glad to say, there is now good hope."

" Better terms " had been offered in 1866 and again in 1869, but the proposals were ignored or rejected. It was not till 1872 that the financial necessities of the island, which had become involved in heavy railway expenditure, led the electors to realize the advantages of union with the

Dominion. Negotiations followed which ended in the assumption of the railway debt by Canada, and the entrance of the island into the Dominion in the following year.

If caution marked the negotiations with Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, boldness, almost to the verge of audacity, characterized those by which British Columbia was induced to join the Confederation. The acquisition of a frontage on the Pacific and of the vast country lying between the Great Lakes and the Rockies was essential to the future of the Dominion. The officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, who still retained great influence in the colony, were opposed to the entrance of British Columbia into the Confederation, as they were to the accession of the North-West. The British governor of the colony was also hostile, and a party had actually been formed to promote annexation to the United States. But when the North-West was transferred in 1870 the opposition of the Hudson's Bay officials ceased, and on the death of Governor Seymour, a successor, Sir Antony Musgrave, known to be favourable to Confederation, was, on Macdonald's suggestion, appointed by the imperial government, which used all its influence to forward the work of union.

The chief item in the terms agreed upon was that " the government of the Dominion undertake to secure the commencement simultaneously, within two years from the date of the union, of the construction of a railway from the Pacific towards the Rocky Mountains, and from such point as may be selected east of the Rocky Mountains, towards the Pacific, to connect the sea-board of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada; and further to secure the completion of such railway within ten years of the date of the union." At a general election held in the autumn of 1870 the people of British Columbia approved of the terms of the union, and the colony became a province of the Dominion on July 20th, 1871.

The compact thus made with the province for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, denounced by opponents as ruinous and impossible, but proved by subsequent events to be not only within the fair limits of practicability, but also the mainspring of Canadian development and prosperity, became for the next fifteen years the pivot of Canadian politics.

Meanwhile the early sessions of parliament were chiefly taken up with questions of administration and organization. On these matters the Opposition, led by Alexander Mackenzie, who had been chosen as leader in succession to George Brown, refrained almost entirely from mere factious disputation. The acrimonious personal disputes of pre-Confederation debates were no more heard. Both parties endeavoured to rise to the level of their new opportunities, and more than one suggestion from the opposition side of the House was adopted by the government.

In 1867 the postal rates were reduced and unified, and a system of post-office savings banks introduced. In 1868 the militia of the Dominion was organized, the tariff altered and systematized, and an Act passed to secure the independence of parliament, as well as a Civil Service Act. A series of Acts culminating in 1871, put the banking system of the country on a sound footing. From 1868 to 1870 Sir John gradually shaped a bill to establish a Supreme Court for Canada, but circumstances prevented him from passing this measure, and the court was not finally organized till 1875 under the administration of Alexander Mackenzie.

Thus gradually the new machine was put into operation. Larger measures, in which a difference of policy was possible, soon came forward and the Opposition began to gain coherency. Among the most important of these measures was that relating to the Intercolonial Railway. Section 145 of the British North America Act had stated that " it shall be the duty of the government and parliament of Canada to provide for the commencement, within six months after the union, of a railway connecting the river St. Lawrence with the city of Halifax." The government pushed on the work of surveying with much energy, and during the first session Macdonald announced that the road would be built " under the direct supervision of commissioners appointed by the government, for whose conduct the administration would hold itself responsible to parliament." This method of management was opposed by Dorion, who moved an amendment that the location of the line should not be settled without the consent of parliament. This was opposed by Sir John, on the ground that such procedure would imperil the financial guarantee which had been given under certain conditions by the imperial authorities. and the first trial of strength ended in a vote of eighty-three to thirty-five in favour of the government.

The selection of the route through New Brunswick was not made without difficulty. The folly of Lord Palmerston in 1833-5, in refusing the extremely reasonable terms offered by President Jackson, and the timidity of Lord Ashburton in the treaty negotiations of 1842 had given to the United States a wedge of territory thrust up far to northward between New Brunswick and Quebec. A direct route from east to west was thus impossible. Three alternative lines were finally surveyed, one by the valley of the St. John River, known, owing to its nearness to the American boundary, as the frontier route; a second along the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Baie des Chaleurs; and a third or central route directly across New Brunswick. The strained relations existing between Great Britain and the United States, and the unwillingness of the former to assist in the construction of any but a military line, put the first and most direct line out of the question. The second was supported by Sir Georges Cartier and Peter Mitchell, in the interest of the lower counties of Quebec and the north shore counties of New Brunswick ; the third by Sir Leonard Tilley, William MacDougall and other ministers, as giving the most direct and least expensive route from the upper province to the sea. From a commercial point of view the central route was unquestionably the best. The imperial authorities approved of the northern route, owing to its greater distance from the American frontier. A report in its favour, balancing military and interprovincial considerations, was obtained from Mr. (afterwards Sir Sandford) Fleming, the engineer in charge, and it was finally adopted. The struggle over the question within the cabinet was very keen, and Macdonald found himself at once on the verge of a ministerial crisis.

In 1870 a quarrel between William MacDougall and Joseph Howe, growing out of the former's disappointment in the matter of the government of the North-West, led to the publication by MacDougall of a series of open letters, in which he affirmed that Sir Georges Cartier and Peter Mitchell forced Macdonald to agree to the selection of the longer route for the Intercolonial as the price of their consent to the acquisition of the western country. He claimed that by this surrender it became necessary to construct one hundred and thirty-eight additional miles of railway, to abandon the natural commercial route, to impose upon the country for all time the burden of this unnecessary mileage, and to injure permanently the Intercolonial as a medium of interprovincial traffic. In MacDougall's own words, "they threw eight millions of dollars into the sea." He was at the time a disappointed and embittered man, but there was probably a measure of truth in his allegations. The whole affair shows the inevitable difficulties which beset a premier in Macdonald's position, and the compromises to which he is driven.

Macdonald's final justification for the course taken must lie in the conditions imposed by the imperial government which gave the guarantee for the money required, and which at the time believed that the military necessity was a real one. Fortunately there has been no need to test the value of the railway in this respect, and other lines built for purely commercial ends now connect the upper provinces with the sea. The construction of the Intercolonial carried out one of the compacts on which Confederation was based, and though, under government control, it has not proved altogether a commercial success, it has had a most important influence in consolidating the Dominion.

The choice of the northern route, however, and the extravagance involved in its construction, gave to the Opposition their first definite plan of attack in the adoption of a platform of economy. This was carried further in 1869 in their objection to the "better terms" granted to Nova Scotia, which they also opposed on constitutional grounds, an indication of the strict and even narrow adherence to the constitution which was for many years to characterize them. Their third great principle, the maintenance of provincial rights, appeared in the discussion of the troubles which broke out in the Red River Settlement.

If Canada and the Maritime Provinces knew but little of each other, and felt the necessity of the iron link of the Intercolonial, they knew still less of the great West on whose acquisition depended the future of the Dominion. When, in 1868, the Red River Settlement was overwhelmed by a plague of grasshoppers, and collections were made for the sufferers, Principal George M. Grant, then a leading clergyman of Halifax, wrote, "I could have collected the money quite as easily, and the givers would have given quite as intelligently, had the sufferers been in Central Abyssinia." Yet there were not wanting statesmen with the eye of faith to look into the future, and George Brown and Sir John Macdonald were at one in feeling that the great heritage so long monopolized by the Hudson's Bay Company must belong to Canada, and that half a continent was too large a preserve for the scattered agents of a trading company and a few thousands of Indians.

To conceive so vast a project as the annexation of a territory more than seven times as large as the four federated provinces, showed the high courage to which nothing is impossible ; on the other hand the details of the annexation present a series of the gravest errors, only partially excused by the absolute ignorance at Ottawa of the situation. Admitting that the greater part of the blame falls on MacDougall and Cartier, it is impossible, nevertheless, wholly to acquit Macdonald of inattention in the earlier stages of the business.

Till Confederation the discussion of the surrender of this monopoly by the company had hardly proceeded beyond the academic stage. The new Dominion took the matter up with vigour. Provision for the acquisition of the North-West Territories was inserted in the British North America Act (section 146) and on December 4th, 1867, a series of resolutions was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. MacDougall, and an address to the queen based upon them was passed, praying her to unite these portions of her empire to Canada. On October 3rd, 1868, Sir Georges Cartier and Mr. MacDougall were sent to London to negotiate. After prolonged discussions and much delay, with the help of the colonial secretary, Lord Granville, an excellent bargain was made for Canada. The Hudson's Bay Company agreed to transfer to the Crown their exclusive rights to the North-West Territories and

Rupert's Land, in consideration of the sum of £300,000, the reservation of one-twentieth of the fertile belt and a certain area adjacent to each of their trading-posts. The vast area ceded was inhabited almost solely by scattered tribes of Indians, and by the officials of the company. But in the vicinity of the trading-post of Fort Garry, at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, where now stands the city of Winnipeg, dwelt a population of about ten thousand persons, known as the Red River Settlement. Of this little community the majority were half-breeds or *métis*, the descendants of Scottish and French trappers and Indian mothers. They had lived quietly and contentedly under the easy lordship of the Hudson's Bay Company, and now viewed with great alarm and excitement the prospect of their transfer, without their consent, to the Dominion.

As if to increase their irritation, the Canadian government, in 1869, undertook the construction of a road between the Lake of the Woods and Red River, and sent a surveying party under an indiscreet militia officer into the settlement itself. The Hudson's Bay Company officials in London protested to the Canadian delegates against these unauthorized proceedings in a district still in their possession, but could get no satisfaction. Monseigneur Taché, the Roman Catholic bishop of the district and the idol of the half-breeds, on his way to the Vatican council turned aside to warn Sir

Georges Cartier of impending trouble and was, so it is said, greeted with a contemptuous laugh.

The domineering, and in some cases dishonest, conduct of the contractor for the road excited still further the ignorant and suspicious *métis*, who set up a provisional government of their own under the leadership of Louis Riel. The situation was complicated by the illness of the company's governor at Fort Garry ; by the absence of Archbishop Taché, whose influence with the halfbreeds might have prevented trouble ; and by the presence at Pembina and at St. Paul of an element in the population which openly awaited the opportunity of annexing the new territory to the United States. " A decrepit government with the executive officer sick ; a rebellious and chronically dissatisfied *métis* element; a government at Ottawa far removed by distance, committing with unvarying regularity blunder after blunder ; a greedy and foreign cabal planning to seize the country, and a secret jesuitical plot to keep the governor from action and to incite the fiery *métis* to revolt ! " is the startling, but perhaps substantially correct, way in which Mr. Bryce in his *Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company* sums up the situation.

Meanwhile the Canadian government had appointed the Hon. William MacDougall lieutenant-governor of the territory which they had not yet taken over. Travelling through the United States, Mr. MacDougall reached the frontier town of Pembina late in October, 1869. On crossing the border, he was met by an armed force of half-breeds, and forced to retire. On December 1st, under the impression that the formal transfer of territory was to take place on that date, and urged by a number of the British inhabitants, he issued a proclamation declaring himself lieutenant-governor and Colonel Dennis, head of the surveying party, his " lieutenant and conservator of the peace." But Sir John Macdonald had absolutely refused to take over the country save in a state of tranquillity, insisting that the company " stood pledged to convey not only their title but the territory itself." MacDougall's proclamation and the unsuccessful attempts of Dennis to collect an adequate force among the loyal settlers only added to the prevailing anarchy.

Sir John Macdonald's understanding with the lieutenant-governor had been " that he was to go as a private individual to report on the state of affairs at the Red River, but to assume no authority until officially notified from him that Rupert's Land was united to Canada." On this assumption both he and Joseph Howe, the secretary of state for the provinces, had endeavoured to keep in touch with MacDougall; their endeavours, however, were rendered fruitless by his hasty assumption of authority, and the slow and uncertain postal communications of the time.

Macdonald's position now became most difficult. Whatever the ulterior objects of their leaders, the demands of the settlers were most reasonable, and consisted of little else than a demand for the self-government possessed by other inhabitants of the Dominion. In this request racial and religious sentiment won them the support of the Quebec members of the House and of the cabinet, led by Sir Georges Cartier. Ontario, Protestant and English, was urgent for the restoration of order by a military force. This demand became overwhelming when news arrived that on March 4th, 1870, Riel had, after a mock trial, put to death Thomas Scott, a former resident of Ontario and a member of the Orange order. Even before this Sir John had written to his friend the Hon. John Rose : " The propositions adopted at the Red River conference, are, most of them, reasonable enough, and can easily be disposed of with their delegates. Things look well enough were we only assured of Riel's good faith. But the unpleasant suspicion remains that he is only wasting time by sending this delegation, until the approach of summer enables him to get material help from the United States. It is believed by many that he is in the pay of the U. S.—besides, the longer he remains in power, the more unwilling will he be to resign it, and I have, therefore, no great confidence in his ratifying any arrangements made here with the delegates. Under these circumstances the preparations for the expeditionary force must not be delayed."

On receipt of the news of the murder of Scott, preparations for a relief expedition, composed of British regulars and of Canadian militia under the command of Colonel (now Viscount) Wolseley, were hurried on, and early in May, 1870, the little force set out from Collingwood. Meanwhile on May 2nd, a bill for the establishment and government of the province of Manitoba, had been introduced by Macdonald and hurriedly passed through the House. But the long strain had been too great; and four days later the premier was suddenly prostrated by an attack of illness, pronounced by his physicians to be *biliary calculus*, so sudden and severe that, to use the words of his biographer, "for days he lay between life and death in the room where he was seized, tended by the supreme devotion of a loving wife, who nursed him with a solicitude to which he has repeatedly declared he owed his life." Not until September was he again fit for work.

The leadership of the House devolved on Sir Georges Cartier, who had determined that the "key to the whole province," as he justly termed Manitoba, should be, as far as possible, in French and Catholic hands. He threw every hindrance in the way of Wolseley's expedition, and when it had finally set out, formed a bold plan for sending Monseigneur Taché and Adams G. Archibald, the newly appointed successor to MacDougall, through the American territory to the Red River. On their arrival a full amnesty covering the murderers of Scott was to be proclaimed and the new provincial government organized. What course would have been followed by a legislature controlled by Riel, and under a pliable lieutenant-governor, can only be surmised, for the plan leaked out and so furious was the opposition raised throughout Ontario that even Cartier quailed, and Archibald went up by the "snow route" in rear of the punitive expedition. After great difficulties, surmounted by Wolseley with masterly skill, the little force reached Fort Garry on August 24th, and won a bloodless victory, Riel and his followers decamping at the sound of the bugles. From that time the organization of the new province went forward without hindrance.

Riel long remained the storm centre of Canadian politics. In the province of Quebec he was a hero, contending for British rights and French privileges; to Ontario he was a murderer and rebel, and the local legislature offered a reward of five thousand dollars for his apprehension. In 1874 he was elected by the half-breeds to succeed Sir Georges Cartier in the representation of Provencher, but was expelled from the House, outlawed and forced to flee to the United States. He was to return in after years and again disturb the peace of the Dominion.

During the critical months of 1870, as has been said, Macdonald's guiding hand was withdrawn from the conduct of affairs. So extreme had been his illness that little hope was entertained of his recovery. His return to Ottawa in September was marked by the warmest demonstrations of feeling on the part of the public. During the greater part of the following session of 1871 he was absent in Washington as a member of the high commission. The task imposed upon him there had such a special importance in his career that it must be dealt with in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WASHINGTON TREATY, 1871

THE outbreak of the war of secession in the United States and the events which marked its progress had, as we have seen, forwarded the work of confederating Canada. The conclusion of that war left questions of great difficulty and delicacy to be settled by the statesmen of Great Britain, the United States and the young Dominion. In this settlement Macdonald was compelled to take a prominent part. Scarcely any other portion of his political career was subjected to more hostile criticism than this; on no other point in his public life was he more confident that the ultimate judgment of history would ratify his conduct and acknowledge the patriotism by which it had been actuated.

Great Britain's largest and most immediate interest in the questions at issue lay in the large claims for damage made against her by the United States on account of the injury inflicted on American trade and shipping by the Southern cruiser *Alabama*, which had been fitted out at a British port, and, it was claimed, had been allowed to escape through lack of the precautions due on the part of a friendly government. The questions which more immediately concerned the Dominion were the San Juan boundary dispute on the Pacific coast; the settlement of claims for damages inflicted on Canada by the Fenian Raids of 1864-5-6, organized and directed from American territory in violation of international law; and above all the recognition of her exclusive right to the inshore fisheries of all Dominion waters. Intimately, though indirectly, connected with the last question was that of trade relations between the United States and Canada.

The prosperity of the Dominion had been profoundly affected by the change in American trade policy adopted after the war, in order to deal with the vast debt accumulated during its progress. The reciprocity treaty negotiated by Lord Elgin in 1854 had proved of great advantage to Canadian trade; nor can it be doubted that it had corresponding advantages for the United States. But even if its retention had been possible under the strongly protective system now adopted by that country, the anti-British current of feeling prevalent at the time would probably have determined its abrogation; and in March, 1866, this was finally effected at the instance of the American government.

With the denunciation of the treaty, the right of American fishermen to pursue their occupations in Canadian waters passed away. Repeated attempts to secure a renewal of reciprocal trade having failed, Canada was now bent on asserting her exclusive right to all the inshore fisheries off her coast, which are among the most valuable of her national assets, and had been the chief consideration granted in 1854 in return for commercial reciprocity. American fishermen, on the other hand, showed the greatest reluctance to give up the privileges they had temporarily enjoyed under the treaty; they omitted to take out licences as required by the Dominion government; and the danger of collision between them and the marine force established for fishery protection was constant and great.

The destruction wrought by the *Alabama* had caused much irritation of national feeling in the United States, as had the Fenian raids in Canada. An attempt had been made to settle the *Alabama* question by what was known as the Johnson-Clarendon Treaty, but this treaty the senate at Washington had refused to ratify, thus leaving unsettled what threatened to be a permanent source of ill-feeling and a possible cause of war between the two countries. The fishing disputes were now added as a further cause of irritation. While there was a prevailing sense of insecurity on all sides and much anxiety to remove every cause of international friction, the failure of the first treaty made it difficult for England to reopen the negotiations. The initiation of renewed discussion came from the Dominion government, which saw clearly that any prolonged delay in asserting

Canadian rights might prejudice the just claims of the Dominion in the matter of the fisheries, while other questions equally required imperial consideration. During the year 1870 the Hon. Alexander Campbell was sent to England under an order-in-council which directed him to consult the imperial government concerning "the proposed withdrawal of troops from Canada; the question of fortifications; the recent invasions of Canadian territory by citizens of the United States, and the previous threats and hostile preparations which compelled the government to call out the militia and to obtain the consent of parliament to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; the systematic trespasses on Canadian fishing grounds by United States fishermen, and the unsettled question as to the limits within which foreigners can fish under the treaty of 1818." The strong representations which Mr. Campbell was instructed to make gave the British government an opportunity to take action, and it suggested, through the British ambassador at Washington, the appointment of a joint high commission to "treat and discuss the mode of settling the different questions which have arisen out of the fisheries, as well as all those which affect the relations of the United States towards Her Majesty's possessions in North America." In reply the opinion was expressed that to settle the differences generally known as the "*Alabama* claims" would also be "essential to the restoration of cordial and amicable relations between the two governments" and should therefore be one of the subjects treated by the commission.

To this proposal the British government agreed, "provided that all other claims, both of British subjects and citizens of the United States, arising out of acts committed during the recent civil war in that country, are similarly referred to this commission."

An agreement having thus been reached, both sides proceeded to name their commissioners plenipotentiary.[1]

Under the circumstances it was only natural that the imperial government should wish that Macdonald should be one of the members of the commission. The request that he should so serve placed him, as leader of the Conservative party and premier of the Dominion, in an exceedingly delicate position. The wide extension of the subjects to be discussed and settled, beyond what had been originally suggested by the Canadian government, gave him diverse ground for anxiety and hesitation in accepting the appointment. No one knew better than he the importance of maintaining friendly relations between the empire and the republic, nor could any one have been more keenly alive to the certainty that, if a collision should come between the two great powers, Canada would be the chief arena of conflict and destruction. On the other hand, he knew how fixed was the belief throughout the Dominion that, in diplomatic contests with the United States, Great Britain had almost invariably been outwitted, and that in consequence Canada had suffered severely, especially in the delimitation of her territory. He was fully aware that any further sacrifice of Canadian interests, made even for the maintenance of peace, would be met by a storm of opposition throughout the Dominion, and that any public man in Canada who agreed to it would imperil his reputation and almost certainly wreck his political career. The personal risk taken in accepting the appointment would therefore be great. Another consideration could not but weigh heavily with him as leader of his party and of the government. The commission was to meet towards the end of February, and service upon it would entail prolonged absence from Ottawa at a time when parliament was in session, when critical questions were under discussion, and when a vigorous opposition was preparing for the general election soon to come on. To his absence at this time he was accustomed in later years to attribute the weakening of his parliamentary position in 1872, when a general election took place, and, indirectly, his defeat in 1873.

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[1] The representatives of Great Britain, on the commission were:—Earl de Grey and Ripon, president of the Privy Council; Sir Stafford Northcote, M.P.; Sir Edward Thornton, British minister at Washington; Sir John A. Macdonald, premier of Canada; Montague Bernard, Esq., professor of international law in the University of Oxford. The American commissioners were the Hon. Hamilton Fish, secretary of state; the Hon. R. C. Schenck, United States minister to Great Britain; Judge Samuel Nelson, of the United States Supreme Court; ex-Judge E. R. Hoar, of Massachusetts, and George H. Williams, of Oregon.

In the exhaustive speech with which, on May 3rd, 1872, he moved in the Dominion parliament the ratification of the clauses which depended on the consent of Canada, he dwelt upon the perplexities which surrounded him at this time.

"I had continually before me," said he, "not only the imperial question, but the interests of the Dominion of Canada, which I was there especially to represent, and the difficulty of my position was, that if I gave undue prominence to the interests of Canada, I might justly be held in England to be taking a purely colonial and selfish point of view, regardless of the interests of the empire as a whole and the interests of Canada as a portion of the empire; and on the other hand, if I kept my eye solely on imperial considerations, I might be held as neglecting my special duty towards this my country, Canada. It was a difficult position, as the House will believe, a position which pressed upon me with great weight and severity at the time." And again: "When the proposition was first made to me I must say that I felt considerable embarrassment and great reluctance to become a member of the commission. I pointed out to my colleagues that I was to be one only of five, that I was in a position of being overruled continually in our discussions, and that I could not by any possibility bring any due weight from my isolated position. I felt also that I would not receive from those who were politically opposed to me in Canada that support which an officer going abroad on behalf of his country generally received, and had a right to expect." Writing to the governor-general, through whom the offer of a seat upon the commission had been conveyed to him, he says: "My first impression was that it would be better for Canada not to be represented in such a commission. But then we must consider that if Canada allowed the matter to go by default and left its interests to be adjudicated upon and settled by a commission composed exclusively of Americans having adverse interests and Englishmen having little or no interest in Canada, the government here would be very much censured if the result were a sacrifice of the rights of the Dominion. England would at once say that the offer to be represented on the commission was made to Canada and that it was declined." His colleagues in the cabinet, when consulted, were unanimously of the opinion that he should act upon the commission. Even then, before giving his final acceptance, he thought it necessary to fortify his position as a commissioner on certain points which he considered vital from a Canadian point of view. He secured from the imperial government a definite statement that it fully recognized and would firmly uphold Canada's exclusive right to the inshore fisheries, and a further declaration that no sale of these fisheries or concession in regard to them should be finally agreed upon until formally ratified by the parliament of the Dominion. On these preliminary conditions he consented to serve, though only then with many misgivings. "I contemplate my visit to Washington with a good deal of anxiety," he writes to his friend, Sir John Rose. "If anything goes wrong I shall be made the scapegoat, at all events as far as Canada is concerned. However, I thought that, after all Canada has done for me, I should not shirk the responsibility."

Leaving Sir Georges Cartier, senior member of the cabinet, in charge of the leadership of the House of Commons, he left Ottawa for Washington, where the commission held its first meeting on February 27th. After anxious discussions, which extended over several weeks, the Treaty of Washington was signed on May 8th, 1871.

Throughout the progress of the negotiations Macdonald, having first received permission to pursue this course, kept his colleagues at Ottawa fully informed concerning the drift of the discussions in a series of letters addressed to Sir Georges Cartier and Sir Charles Tupper. From these documents and from the exhaustive speech in which, a year later, he submitted for the ratification of parliament, the clauses of the treaty which affected Canada, we are able to gather a clear idea of the extremely difficult part he had to play.

When he reached Washington he found among the American as well as the British commissioners, a genuinely sincere desire for the reconciliation of all differences. But behind the commissioners was the American senate, which it was well known would reject any treaty which interfered with certain fixed lines of American policy. Reciprocal trade was the equivalent given by the United States in 1854 for the Canadian fisheries, and Macdonald knew that popular opinion in the Dominion looked upon this as the only adequate equivalent that could be given now.

The American commissioners, however, stated from the first, as had been anticipated, that under the newly-adopted trade policy of the country this was impossible. Equally prompt was the refusal to allow Canadians a share in the coasting trade. They offered instead one million dollars for the fisheries in perpetuity. To any such permanent sale Macdonald strenuously objected on high national grounds. He pointed out to the head of the British commission "that it would be out of the question to surrender for all time to come her fishery rights for any compensation however great. That we had no right to injure posterity by depriving Canada, either as a dependency or as a nation, of her fisheries, and in my opinion any surrender must be for a term of years renewable by either party, or, what would be preferable, for an unspecified period, but liable to be terminated by either party. That the fisheries were valuable in themselves, and would, with increasing population, become annually of more value; but the value of the catch was of less consequence than the means which the exclusive enjoyment of the fisheries gave us of improving our position as a maritime power. That Canada possessed infinitely more valuable fisheries than the United States, with better harbours, and if we pursued the exclusive system vigorously, we might run a winning race with the United States, as a maritime power. That were our fishing ground used in common by our own and American fishermen the latter would enjoy the same training as ourselves. . . . "

One serious check, deeply affecting Canadian feeling in regard to the work of the commission, was met with at an early stage of the conference. It had from the first been fully expected that Canada's claims for compensation on account of the Fenian Raids would be one of the subjects brought before the commission. Through what was apparently an oversight on the part of the British ambassador it was found, when the commission met, that these claims had not been expressly included in the terms of reference formally agreed upon. When the question of their inclusion was brought up at the conference, the American commissioners stated that they had no authority to deal with them, and that they could only do so under revised instructions.

After some consultation by cable with Mr. Gladstone's cabinet which was then in power, definite directions were sent to the commissioners to withdraw these claims. At the same time the British government assumed entire responsibility for the losses Canada had sustained, and intimated that, if necessary, a money payment would be made by way of compensation. The reason for this withdrawal of claims quite as well founded as those created by the depredations of the *Alabama*, has never been made clear, but in all probability it must be referred to the strong desire felt in England to remove all hindrances to the completion of a treaty.

The failure to consider the claims for the Fenian Raids naturally caused great disappointment in Canada and seriously affected Macdonald's political outlook. Later, when stating the case in parliament, he had no hesitation in fixing the responsibility for the failure. "It was" he said, "the fault of Her Majesty's government in not demanding in clear language, in terms which could not be misunderstood, that the investigation of these claims should be one of the matters dealt with by the commission. . . . . England was responsible for that error. England had promised to make the demand, and England had failed to make it. Not only that, but Her Majesty's government had taken the responsibility of withdrawing the claims altogether; and Mr. Gladstone fully assumed all the responsibilities for this step, and relieved the Canadian government of any share in it, when he stated openly in the House of Commons that the imperial government had seen fit to withdraw the claims, but that they had done so with great reluctance and sorrow for the manner in which Canada had been treated. Canada, therefore, had every right to look to England for that satisfaction which she had failed to receive. . . . She did not decline that responsibility. . . ."

He pointed out, however, the unwillingness of the Canadian government that the compensation should take direct pecuniary form. "We were unwilling that it should be the payment of a certain amount of money, and there were several strong reasons why we should prefer not to accept reparation in that shape. In the first place, if a proposal of that kind were made it would cause a discussion as to the amount to be paid by England, of a most unseemly character. We should have the spectacle of a judge appointed to examine the claims in detail, with Canada pressing her cause upon his attention, and England probably resisting in some cases, and putting herself in an antagonistic position, which should not be allowed to occur between the mother country and the colony. It was, therefore, in the last degree unadvisable that the relations between Canada and the mother country, which throughout have been of so pleasant and friendly a character, should be placed in jeopardy in that way."

The alternative which he proposed was that an imperial guarantee should be given by Great Britain for a considerable loan which the Dominion had to raise for public works and defence. This, he pointed out, would not cost the motherland a sixpence, but would confer a greater advantage upon Canada than any direct compensation likely to be given. This proposal was accepted, the guarantee was given by Act of Parliament, and, it need scarcely be said, has never put the slightest burden upon the British taxpayer. Even after the Geneva arbitration had mulcted her to the extent of fifteen millions of dollars, Great Britain never took steps to renew the Fenian claims, nor did the United States ever volunteer compensation.

It is not in the sphere of international diplomacy that we must look for ideals or very high examples of justice.

Another disputed question was soon eliminated from the discussions by an agreement which Macdonald fully endorsed as fair and reasonable. The San Juan boundary dispute had arisen from the ambiguity of a clause in the treaty of June 15th, 1846, by which the Oregon boundary was supposed to be finally settled. This clause read as follows: "From the point on the 49th parallel of north latitude, where the boundary laid down in existing treaties and conventions between Great Britain and the United States terminates, the line of boundary between the territories of Her Britannic Majesty and those of the United States, shall be continued westward, along the said 49th parallel of north latitude, to the middle of the channel, which separates the continent from Vancouver Island; and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel, and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific Ocean; provided, however, that the navigation of the whole of the channel and straits, south of the 49th parallel of north latitude, remained free and open to both parties." The imperfect direction laid down left it uncertain whether the Island of San Juan, near the coast of Vancouver, was British or American territory. The 34th Article of the Treaty of Washington provided that: "The respective claims of the two governments should be submitted to the arbitrament and award of the German Emperor, who should decide therefore, finally and without appeal, which of the claims is most in accordance with the interpretation of the treaty of June 15th, 1846."

Macdonald had no hesitation in defending this decision in the Canadian parliament when the treaty was under consideration. He said: "The only other subject of peculiar interest to Canada in connection with the treaty . . . is the manner of disposing of the San Juan boundary question.

That is settled in a way that no one can object to. I do not know whether many honourable members have ever studied that question. It is a most interesting one, and has long been a cause of controversy between the two countries. I am bound to uphold, and I do uphold, the British view respecting the channel which forms the boundary as the correct one. The United States government were, I believe, as sincerely convinced of the justice of their own case. Both believed that they were in the right, both were firmly grounded in that opinion; and such being the case, there was only one way out of it, and that was to leave it to be settled by impartial arbitration. I think the House will admit that no more distinguished arbiter could have been selected than the Emperor of Germany. In the examination and decision of the question he will have the assistance of as able and eminent jurists as any in the world, for there is nowhere a more distinguished body than the jurists of Germany, who are especially familiar with the principles and practice of international law. Whatever the decision may be, whether for England or against her, you may be satisfied that you will get a most learned and careful judgment in the matter, to which we must bow if it is against us, and to which I am sure the United States will bow if it is against them."

The emperor gave his decision in October, 1872. It was unreservedly in favour of the American claims, and the Island of San Juan was thereupon evacuated by the British troops.

The Fenian claims having been dismissed and an agreement reached on the question of the San Juan boundary, the matter in debate narrowed down mainly to the *Alabama* claims and the Canadian fisheries. Macdonald had never anticipated, nor had the Canadian government thought, when making its original suggestions in regard to the fisheries, that these two questions would be grouped together and dealt with as a whole, as they now were, for the purpose of the treaty. When the commissioners had finally come to an agreement to submit the *Alabama* claims to arbitration, it was urged that if the fishery question were not settled, the ratification of the whole treaty by the senate would be endangered.

Instead of the full reciprocity, which had been given in return for the use of the fisheries by the United States in 1854, their commissioners now offered to admit free of duty coal, salt, lumber and fish. With the exception of Macdonald all the British commissioners were willing to agree to this proposal, but he strenuously opposed its acceptance, holding that the compensation was wholly inadequate.

He pointed out that the import duty on coal and salt was so unpopular throughout the States that it would soon, in any case, be taken off, and that Canadian fish and lumber were both necessities to the American consumer, who would himself have to pay the duty, so that this concession conferred little advantage upon Canada.

He therefore claimed that, in the absence of reciprocal arrangements, only a considerable money payment by the United States could make the bargain equal. Standing between the American commissioners keen to make the best bargain, and the English commissioners equally keen to secure a final treaty, he writes: " The absurd attempts of the United States commissioners to depreciate the value of our fisheries would be ridiculous if they were not so annoying. They found our English friends so squeezable in nature that their audacity has grown beyond all bounds." A proposal was now made to submit the amount of additional money payment to arbitration. But to arbitrate about the value of one's own undisputed property was a very different thing from arbitration about a disputed and doubtful right of possession. Against this Macdonald's colleagues at Ottawa took strong ground. They telegraphed: " We are sensible of the gravity of the position and alive to the deep interest which Canada has in the settlement of all disputes between Great Britain and the United States. The queen's government having formally pledged herself that our fisheries should not be disposed without our consent, to force us now into the disposal of them for a sum, to be fixed by arbitration, and free fish, would be a breach of faith, and an indignity never before offered to a great British possession. The people of Canada were ready to exchange the right of fishing for reciprocal trade rights to be agreed upon; but, if these cannot be obtained, she prefers to retain her fisheries, and she protests against the course which, against her will, is being pursued with reference to her interests and property. We were never informed that the fisheries would be inextricably mixed up with the *Alabama* question, and could not have apprehended that an attempt would be made to coerce us into an unwilling disposal of them to obtain results, however important, on other points of dispute. Our parliament would never consent to a treaty on the basis now proposed. . . ." But this strong expression of opinion came too late to influence the decision of the home government, which sent direct instructions to the commissioners to agree to the proposal for free fish and a money compensation to be settled by arbitration, subject, however to ratification by Canada.

Macdonald was now in an awkward dilemma in view of the opinion of his cabinet and the warmth of Canadian feeling on the question. His first impulse was to withdraw from the commission rather than subscribe to terms which he did not approve and which he believed the Canadian parliament would reject. Against this step his colleagues on the commission strongly protested, as it would probably wreck the treaty on which so many hopes had been based. His second and wiser thought was to remain on the commission in order to watch over the interests of Canada in regard to the navigation of the St. Lawrance and of the canals, the bonding privilege, and other minor matters which had come under consideration, while reserving his freedom of ulterior action on the main issue. Further reflection convinced him that, in the interests of the empire and of Canada itself, the treaty should be maintained, even though it involved sacrifices on the part of Canada. On April 29th, two days after a decision had been reached, he writes to Dr. Tupper at Ottawa: "The rights of Canada being substantially preserved by reserving to her the veto power as to the fisheries, I am sincerely desirous that a treaty should be made, as it is of the greatest importance that the *Alabama* and San Juan matters should be settled, especially the former. The expectations by the American people of a settlement of these matters have been strung to a very high pitch, and the disappointment, in case the negotiations end in nothing, will be very great. If this attempt to settle the *Alabama* question should fail, no peaceable solution of it is possible, and the war cloud will hang over England and Canada . . . . "

Later he writes to his friend Sir John Rose: "I at first thought of declining to sign the treaty. That would have been the easiest and most popular course for me to pursue *quoad* Canada and my position there, and, *entre nous*, my colleagues at Ottawa pressed me so to do. But my declining to sign might have involved such terrible consequences that I finally made up my mind to make the sacrifice of much of my popularity and position in Canada, rather than run the risk of a total failure of the treaty. . . . I am quite prepared for the storm of attack which will doubtless greet my return to Canada. I think that I should have been unworthy of the position and untrue to myself if, from any selfish timidity, I had refused to face the storm. Our parliament will not meet till February next, and between now and then I must endeavour to lead the Canadian mind in the right direction."

The full storm of opposition criticism which he expected, and even more, fell upon him during the months which elapsed between the conclusion of the treaty and the meeting of parliament. He was freely denounced as a traitor who had sacrificed the interests of Canada to gain imperial approval. Contrary to all expectation, however, the people of the Maritime Provinces, who were more deeply interested than any others in the fishery clauses, accepted this portion of the treaty as likely to work out well in practice. Meanwhile Macdonald had laboriously striven to convince his colleagues in the cabinet that the treaty as a whole should be heartily endorsed. Difficulties had arisen between the United States and England in regard to the Geneva arbitration of the *Alabama* claims, and in consequence the meeting of the Canadian parliament was delayed till the last possible moment to see whether these difficulties would be overcome. When an agreement had been reached and the House met in 1872, Macdonald moved the ratification of the clauses, to which Canadian assent was necessary, in one of the most carefully prepared and weighty speeches of his public life. " I believe," he said, " that the sober, second thought of this country accords with the sober, second thought of the government, and we come down here and ask the people of Canada, through their representatives, to accept this treaty, to accept it with all its imperfections, and to accept it for the sake of peace, and for the sake of the great empire of which we form a part."

One of the closing paragraphs from a closely reasoned speech, which occupied more than four hours in delivery, must here suffice to illustrate the breadth of view with which he recommended the treaty to the approval of the Canadian people.

"I shall now move the first reading of this bill, and I shall simply sum up my remarks by saying that with respect to the treaty I consider that every portion of it is unobjectionable to the country, unless the articles connected with the fisheries may be considered objectionable. With respect to those articles I ask this House fully and calmly to consider the circumstances, and I believe, if they do fully consider the situation, that they will say it is for the good of Canada that those articles should be ratified. Reject the treaty, and you do not get reciprocity; reject the treaty, and you leave the fishermen of the Maritime Provinces at the mercy of the Americans; reject the treaty, and you will cut off the merchants engaged in that trade from the American market. Reject the treaty, and you will have a large annual expenditure in keeping up a marine police force to protect those fisheries, amounting to about eighty-four thousand dollars per annum. Reject the treaty, and you will have to call upon England to send her fleet and give you both her moral and physical support, although you will not adopt her policy; reject the treaty, and you will find that the bad feeling which formerly and until lately existed in the United States against England will be transferred to Canada: and the United States will say, and say justly, 'Here, when two nations like England and the United States have settled all their differences and all their quarrels upon a perpetual basis, these happy results are to be frustrated and endangered by the Canadian people, because they have not got the value of their fish for ten years.'

"It has been said by the honourable gentleman on my left [Mr. Howe] in his speech to the Young Men's Christian Association, that England had sacrificed the interests of Canada. If England has sacrificed the interests of Canada, what sacrifice has she not made in the cause of peace between those two great nations, rendering herself liable, leaving out all indirect claims, to pay millions out of her own treasury ? Has she not made all this sacrifice, which only Englishmen and English statesmen can know, for the sake of peace ? For whose sake has she made it ? Has she not made it principally for the sake of Canada ? Let Canada be severed from England—let England not be responsible to us, and for us, and what could the United States do to England ? Let England withdraw herself into her shell, and what can the United States do ? England has got the supremacy of the sea—she is impregnable in every point but one, and that point is Canada ; and if England does call upon us to make a financial sacrifice ; does find it for the good of the empire that we, England's first colony, should sacrifice something, I say that we should be unworthy of our proud position if we were not prepared to do so. I hope to live to see the day, and if I do not, that my son may be spared to see Canada the right arm of England, to see Canada a powerful auxiliary to the empire, not, as now, a cause of anxiety and a source of danger. And I think that if we are worthy to hold that position as the right arm of England, we should not object to a sacrifice of this kind when so great an object is attained, and that object a lasting one.

"It is said that amities between nations cannot be perpetual. But I say that this treaty that has gone through so many difficulties and dangers, if it is carried into effect, removes almost all possibility of war. If ever there was an irritating cause of war, it was from the occurrences arising out of the escape of those vessels, and when we see the United States people and government forget this irritation, forget those occurrences and submit such a question to arbitration, to the arbitration of a disinterested tribunal, they have established a principle which can never be forgotten in this world. No future question is ever likely to arise that will cause such irritation as the escape of the *Alabama* did, and if they could be got to agree to leave such a matter to the peaceful arbitration of a friendly power, what future cause of quarrel can, in the imagination of man, occur that will not bear the same pacific solution that is sought for in this? I believe that this treaty is an epoch in the history of civilization; that it will set an example to the wide world that must be followed; and with the growth of the great Anglo-Saxon family, and with the development of that mighty nation to the south of us, I believe that the principle of arbitration will be advocated as the sole principle of settlement of differences between the English-speaking peoples, and that it will have a moral influence in the world. And although it may be opposed to the antecedents of other nations, that great moral principle which has now been established among the Anglo-Saxon family will spread itself over all the civilized world. It is not too much to say that it is a great advance in the history of mankind, and I should be sorry if it were recorded that it was stopped for a moment by a selfish consideration of the interests of Canada."

It only remains to be mentioned that a decision more satisfactory to Canadians than the San Juan boundary award, more satisfactory, indeed, than any previously arrived at in arbitration with the United States, awaited the clauses of the Washington Treaty providing for compensation for the use of the fisheries. A commission appointed to consider the question met at Halifax in 1877, and after prolonged enquiry conducted by some of the most brilliant counsel of the United States and Canada, awarded to the Dominion the sum of $5,500,000 as a reasonable equivalent for the excess in value of the Canadian over the American fisheries mentioned in the treaty. In spite of a strong minority protest made by the American commissioners, and much grumbling in the press of the United States and in congress, the sum was finally paid into the Dominion exchequer. This award furnishes the fullest justification of the firm attitude taken by Macdonald throughout the whole affair in establishing the value of what Canada was asked to relinquish. It gives special point to his own confident prediction made in parliament, that " when as a matter of history, the questions connected with this treaty are enquired into, it will be found that upon this, as well as upon every other point, I did all I could to protect the rights and claims of the Dominion."

The Washington Treaty marked the opening of a new era in the history of imperial negotiations. Treaties affecting Canada had hitherto been made for her by the mother country alone, which was alone responsible for their execution. Now for the first time a colonist, acutely alive to the special interests and claims of his own section of the empire, qualified better than anyone else to represent them, and responsible for his action to the electorate of Canada as well as to the Crown, was asked to accept plenipotentiary power, along with colleagues from the United Kingdom, in framing a treaty which affected the empire as a whole in its relation to another great power.

Doubtless the precedent is one which should, and will, become the rule in dealing with the concerns of those vast territories and increasing communities which in various parts of the world are growing to a national status under the British Crown. It is impossible to imagine that these great dependencies of the empire can allow affairs in which they have a supreme interest to be settled without that full voice in arriving at decisions to which their interests entitle them. But it is equally impossible to imagine, in the present condition of the world, any system by which the treaty-making right can be divorced from the power, based on naval and military strength, which executes treaties and gives them efficiency. Coöperation seems therefore the only possible future of national diplomacy for British people. It implies an increasing breadth of view in the colonial statesmen, as well as a clear grasp of the new relations of the empire on the part of the statesmen of the motherland. Macdonald's experience in connection with the Washington Treaty proves that, for the new tasks laid upon the colonies, men are needed with political courage as well as clear insight. It required a strong man to hold the balance justly between interests which were local and those which were broadly imperial. Canadian opinion has now, as he fully expected, ratified his judgment. But at the moment he accepted great responsibilities and faced great risks.

CHAPTER IX

THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1872

THE first general election after Confederation took place in 1872. The Opposition had gained coherence, their hopes of victory ran high, and the fight was keen. Despite the great work they had carried out in organizing the new federal system, Macdonald and his colleagues had many opposing influences to combat in the constituencies. Many electors were afraid of the gigantic scheme for throwing a railway across the continent, and their fears were sedulously cultivated by the leaders of the Opposition. The "better terms" granted to Nova Scotia in order to secure the adhesion of that province to Confederation were almost as sharply criticized as were the railway inducements held out to British Columbia. The supreme object of a united Canada did not appeal to the imagination of the Liberals of the day, or incline them to make such sacrifices for its attainment as it did with Macdonald. Incidentally, of course, the larger line of policy, being in accord with the dominant feeling of the country, helped to keep the Conservatives in power, a circumstance which could hardly be expected to recommend these sacrifices in Liberal eyes. But outside of mere party considerations there were serious disturbing influences. The Orangemen of Ontario were angry because the murderers of Scott at Fort Garry had not been brought to justice ; the Roman Catholics of Quebec because a full amnesty had not been granted to the rebels. Another religious difficulty had sprung up in the Maritime Provinces. Among the matters specifically reserved for provincial control in the new constitution was that of education. The provincial legislature of New Brunswick in the exercise of its constitutional right had in 1871 passed a law which had the effect of taking away government support from separate denominational schools. These had been practically, though not by name, allowed to share in government assistance under the system which was then abolished. The new law weighed heavily upon the Roman Catholics, and a series of petitions was laid before the Dominion parliament in 1872 praying for its disallowance.

Unluckily for the Catholics of New Brunswick, it was their co-religionists of Quebec who had originally insisted upon education being placed under provincial control, and so even Cartier dared not advise disallowance. Macdonald did his best to mollify Catholic opinion by passing through the House a resolution suggesting that the law officers of the British Crown should be consulted as to the constitutionality of the measure, and urging the province in any case to modify its law so " as to remove any just grounds of discontent which now exist." The law officers of the Crown, to whom the question was preferred, promptly confirmed the constitutionality of the provincial measure, and it was only some years later that a compromise was made which alleviated the position of the New Brunswick Catholics. Meanwhile Cartier's failure to stand by his Church in defiance of the constitution greatly weakened his influence among many zealous and prejudiced voters of his native province.

He was at this time in failing health and, through various causes besides that already mentioned, had lost a large measure of his popularity in his Montreal constituency, which was rapidly assuming a decidedly *Rouge* complexion. It was evident from the first that he would have a severe contest to preserve his seat, and when the hour of trial came he was signally defeated.

The Washington Treaty, for the Canadian claims of which Macdonald assumed full responsibility, had been diligently represented as a sacrifice to imperial interests. Not merely had this been done by the Opposition in parliament and out of it, but even one of his colleagues, Joseph Howe, then secretary of state, had taken public occasion to criticize the treaty, and had spoken in terms of scorn of "England's recent diplomatic efforts to buy her own peace at the sacrifice of our interests." Under ordinary circumstances so great an indiscretion on the part of a cabinet minister must have entailed resignation, but on the eve of an election Macdonald could not afford to throw overboard the chief representative of Nova Scotia, a province in which the embers of discontent were still glowing and ready to burst anew into flame, and in which Howe was still a power. With admirable self-control he repressed his vexation and excused, as best he could, the utterances of his impulsive colleague.

The abandonment of the claims against the United States for the Fenian outrages in consideration of an imperial guarantee was especially unpopular in Ontario, where the raids had caused loss of life as well as much public expense and anxiety. Nor was the thought that Great Britain was meekly paying the debt due by a foreign power, and one most persistent and exacting where its own rights were concerned, altogether flattering to the British pride of the Canadian people.

Macdonald, with the instinct of a great political strategist, felt that the approaching struggle would be critical. He had convinced himself, as we are assured, that in the attitude of the Opposition on more than one question there were great possibilities of danger to the new Confederation. He threw himself, therefore, into the contest with all his energy—an energy, as the sequel proved, that carried him far beyond the bounds both of prudence and of principle. That he conscientiously thought he was exerting himself for Canada's good his friends have always strenuously maintained, and possibly even the dispassionate historian may find it not impossible to believe. Writing to Lord Monck after the election, he says: "I never worked so hard before and never shall do so again; but I felt it to be necessary this time. I did not want a verdict against the treaty from the country, and besides, I sincerely believe that the advent of the Opposition, as it is now constituted, to power, would greatly damage the future of Confederation." And again: "I had to fight a stern and up-hill battle in Ontario, and had I not taken regularly to the stump, a thing that I have never done before, we should have been completely routed. The chief ground of attack on the government was the Washington Treaty, and our submitting to Gladstone's resolve not to press the Fenian claims. Added to this, of course, were all the sins of omission and commission that gather round an administration of so many years duration as ours."

The completed election returns showed that the government was sustained, but by a significantly reduced majority. All the provinces, except Ontario, supported Macdonald and his policy. Nova Scotia, under the vigorous persuasion of Sir Charles Tupper, exactly reversed the verdict of five years before, returning twenty Conservative members out of twenty-one. The defeat of two ministers, Sir Georges Cartier in the province of Quebec and Sir Francis Hincks in Ontario, together with the notable gains made by the Opposition in the latter province, had sensibly weakened the position of the administration. Still, confident in his own ability to make the most of the material at his command, Macdonald met parliament in 1873, without any serious misgivings as to the future. He seemed, indeed, at the climax of a brilliantly successful career. He had not only accomplished Confederation, but, in spite of preliminary difficulties of many kinds, had put the new system into regular operation. His judiciously dispensed liberality had reconciled old provinces and won new; the Dominion stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Great Lakes to the frozen pole. At Washington he had measured his strength with the diplomats and statesmen of Britain and the United States, and in tact and firmness found himself fully their equal. After a fierce struggle, the people had again expressed their confidence in him, and his triumph had been greatest where five years before the Opposition had been most overwhelming. In the hands of so consummate a tactician the majority obtained was sufficient for working purposes ; it might grow to more, but the methods by which some part of this majority had been gained had yet to be revealed, and, all unperceived, the Nemesis which attends a too devious expediency in political morals lay silently in wait for the great party leader. In less than a year after the House met he had been hurled from power, condemned by the voice of the Canadian people, his political career apparently closed, if not blasted, forever.

As a chapter in Canadian history the story of the "Pacific Scandal" is not a pleasant one for Canadians to read, or for a biographer of Macdonald to deal with. It is the unfortunate record of all democracies that the freedom of self-government, won through long and painful struggles, is ever liable to corruption at the fountain-head; that many holders of the franchise are ready to sacrifice the higher rights of citizenship for base considerations; that leaders are willing, or feel themselves constrained, to accept constituents at their own valuation and purchase a support which they see no other means of obtaining. Canada unfortunately supplied a modern instance of this fatal tendency. In the bitter struggles of party politics which had gone on ever since Macdonald entered public life, passion or conviction undoubtedly controlled the great mass of the voters, but it is also certain that party funds were used on both sides, as occasion offered, to sway that characterless and venal class that in closely divided constituencies so often turns the scale of victory. Expenditure on the vast scale familiar in English politics in the last century was unknown and impossible, but such means as were available were freely employed, and the replenishing of the party exchequer was consequently an important preliminary in every general election.

The necessity for a party fund may be freely admitted, but the methods employed in its collection and distribution put a severe strain too often upon political morality.

In 1871, on the motion of Sir Georges Cartier, in the absence of Macdonald at Washington, parliament had accepted the suggestion of the Opposition that the railway stipulated for by British Columbia should be built, not by the government, but by a state-aided company. During 1871 and 1872 two such companies received charters from the Dominion government, the Inter-Oceanic, headed by Senator D. L. Macpherson of Toronto, and the Canadian Pacific, of which the leading member was Sir Hugh Allan of Montreal. In the formation of the latter company capitalists of the United States were largely interested.

Not wishing to favour exclusively either the Ontario interest represented by the one, or the Quebec interest which was strong in the other, Macdonald endeavoured to bring about an amalgamation of the two companies, a negotiation in which his colleague, Sir Alexander Campbell, took a leading part, but this attempt finally broke down owing to the impossibility of choosing between Allan and Macpherson as presidents, neither of whom would yield precedence to the other. Macdonald then devoted himself to forming a new company, combining the chief elements of both but free from all control by foreign capital, to which there was a strong popular objection throughout the Dominion. This company was finally constituted, with Sir Hugh Allan as president of the board of directors, a position to which his wealth and great influence in the British money market fairly entitled him.

Parliament had already resolved that any company which undertook to build the road should be subsidized with a grant of thirty million dollars in cash and fifty million acres of land, and a condition was made, as a security against outside control, that the stock of the company should not be transferable for six years. The best opinion of the time, that the public support offered to the enterprise was not too great, was ratified by subsequent experience.

The first session of the new parliament opened on March 5th, 1873, and for the first few weeks business proceeded as usual and without any hint of the coming storm. But on April 2nd, Mr. Lucius Seth Huntington, member for the county of Shefford, rose in his place in the House and amid dead silence moved: "That Mr. Huntington, a member of the House, having stated in his place that he is credibly informed, and believes that he can establish by satisfactory evidence,—

"That in anticipation of the legislation of last session as to the Pacific Railway, an agreement was made between Sir Hugh Allan, acting for himself, and certain other Canadian promoters, and G. W. MacMullen, acting for certain United States capitalists, whereby the latter agreed to furnish all the funds necessary for the construction of the contemplated railway, and to give the former a certain percentage of interest, in consideration of their interest and position, the scheme agreed on being ostensibly that of a Canadian company with Sir Hugh Allan at its head,—

"That the government were aware that negotiations were pending between these parties,—

"That subsequently an understanding was come to between the government and Sir Hugh Allan and Mr. Abbott, M.P., that Sir Hugh Allan and his friends should advance a large sum of money for the purpose of aiding the election of ministers and their supporters at the general election, and that he and his friends should receive the contract for the construction of the railway,—

"That accordingly Sir Hugh Allan did advance a large sum of money for the purpose mentioned, at the solicitation, and under the pressing instances of ministers,—

"That part of the moneys expended by Sir Hugh Allan in connection with obtaining the Act of Incorporation and Charter were paid to him by the said United States capitalists under the agreement with him,—it is

"*Ordered*, that a committee of seven members be appointed to enquire into all the circumstances connected with the negotiations for the construction of the Pacific Railway, with the legislation of last session on the subject, and with the granting of the charter to Sir Hugh Allan and others; with power to send for persons, papers and records; and with instructions to report in full the evidence taken before, and all proceedings of, said committee."

This bombshell did not for the moment explode. After making his motion Mr. Huntington sat down. No one rose to reply. Sir John Macdonald sat unmoved. After a long silence a division was taken without debate, and what was practically a vote of censure supported only by the bare word of Mr. Huntington was defeated by one hundred and seven to seventy-six. Huntington's failure to bring forward any evidence was regarded as a gross tactical blunder by two such experts as Sir John Macdonald and Lord Dufferin, the new governor-general. It has been questioned whether at the time he had such evidence in his possession. He may have believed it to exist, and ventured his motion as a feeler. As such it was abundantly successful. The charges were too serious to be passed over, amounting as they did to an accusation that the government "had trafficked with foreigners in Canada's most precious interests in order to debauch the constituencies of the Dominion with the gold obtained as the price of their treachery."[1] Next day Sir John Macdonald gave notice of a motion which was carried five days later (April 8th), "that a select committee of five members (of which committee the mover shall not be one) be appointed by this House to enquire into and report upon the several matters contained and stated in the resolution moved on Wednesday, the 2nd day of April instant, by the Hon. Mr. Huntington, member for the county of Shefford, relating to the Canadian Pacific Railway, with power to send for persons, papers and records, and to report the evidence from time to time, and, if need be, to sit after the prorogation of parliament."

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[1] Lord Dufferin to the Earl of Kimberly, August 15th, 1873.

It was suggested that a special Act should be passed empowering the committee to examine witnesses on oath. Macdonald doubted the legality of such a course, but suggested that the same end, which he approved, might be attained by issuing, as he offered to do, a royal commission to the committee. His opinion was over-ruled and the Act giving power to examine under oath was passed. On being referred to the law officers of the Crown in England, the Bill was disallowed as *ultra vires.*

Meantime, the committee decided to adjourn till July 2nd on account of the absence in England of witnesses so essential as Sir Georges Cartier and the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott; while parliament adjourned till August 13th on the clear understanding that its meeting would then be a formal one—merely for the reception of the report. It was considered that this arrangement would give time for the completion of the investigations.

When the committee met in July the proclamation of disallowance consequent upon the decision of the law officers of the Crown had been made, and as the committee did not feel free to depart from the instructions of the House of Commons to take the evidence under oath, Macdonald again offered to issue a royal commission. But Messrs. Blake and Dorion, the Liberal members of the committee, believing that the enquiry should be conducted under the direction of the Commons and not of the Crown, refused to act upon the commission, so the enquiry was for the moment blocked. But in the interval between these events and the time appointed for the meeting of parliament, new developments arrested public attention. On July 4th a Montreal paper published a number of letters and telegrams sent by Sir Hugh Allan to capitalists and others in the United States, pointing strongly to the existence of a corrupt bargain between Allan and the government in connection with the charter for building the Canadian Pacific Railway. A statement on oath by Sir Hugh Allan denying the charges made by Mr. Huntington of a corrupt bargain, or indeed of any bargain, was published on July 5th. This quieted public anxiety and excitement for the moment, but on July 18th further documents and telegrams, surreptitiously obtained in some way from private offices, and apparently authentic, were published, showing that Sir Georges Cartier and Sir John Macdonald had, during the progress of the election, called for and received from Sir Hugh Allan, large sums of money with the manifest purpose of influencing the constituencies.

When the House met according to arrangement on August 13th, vehement efforts were made by the Opposition to change the form of meeting agreed upon into a regular session, in order to deal at once with the charges that had been made. To this Macdonald could not agree, as a large body of his supporters were in the more distant parts of Canada and some in Europe, so that the Opposition, whose strength lay in Ontario, would probably have secured a majority on any vote of censure in a parliament so called together. Great pressure was brought upon the governor-general, the Earl of Dufferin, by petition and through the press, to induce him to insist upon parliament proceeding to deal with the question at once. When the governor-general announced his decision that by the constitution he was bound to follow the advice of his ministers in regard to prorogation, the House broke up amid scenes of great excitement. On the day following the prorogation, a royal commission was issued, on Macdonald's advice, to three judges, empowering them to investigate and report the evidence bearing upon the charges.

The commission began its sittings on August 28th. It examined Macdonald and several members of the government, together with Sir

Hugh Allan, Mr. Macpherson and many others. Mr. Huntington refused to assist in the inquiry, averring that to do so would be a breach of the privileges of parliament. Parliament itself was summoned on October 23rd to receive the report. Meanwhile on October 9th, Macdonald had addressed to the governor-general an elaborate statement, confidential at the time, but since published, of the circumstances connected with the formation of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and a defence of his position in relation to the charges made. The expenditure of money on the elections was freely admitted, and was justified, partly as legitimate expense, partly as the custom in party contests, partly as an offset to Opposition expenditure and influence, especially in the province of Ontario, where a local Liberal administration threw its whole weight against his government. That there was any corrupt bargain between Sir Hugh Allan and himself he utterly denied. The inducement to large expenditures made by that gentleman was explained by his extensive steamboat and other interests, the future of which depended to a great extent on the success of the government policy. In this statement, confidential at the time, but since published, Macdonald admitted that Sir Georges Cartier had, at an early stage of the proceedings, made arrangements with Sir Hugh Allan which he could not approve and had felt bound to repudiate, attributing the error of judgment to the failing health and weakened mental powers of his colleague.

When parliament met on October 23rd to receive the report of the commission, an amendment to the address was immediately moved by Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, the leader of the Opposition. This amendment said: " We have to acquaint His Excellency that by their course in reference to the investigation of the charges preferred by Mr. Huntington in his place in this House, and under the facts disclosed in the evidence laid before us, His Excellency's advisers have merited the severest censure of the House."

A week of fierce discussion followed, during which it gradually became clear to Macdonald that he could not hold his majority together in the division which was approaching. On the fourth day of the debate he rose to make his fuller defence before the House, and in a speech of five hours in length reviewed all the circumstances of the election, and of the subsequent investigation. But it was with the knowledge that he was confronted with defeat that he made his final appeal. " I commit myself," he said, "the government commits itself to the hands of this House, and far beyond the House, it commits itself to the country at large. We have faithfully done our duty. We have fought the battle of Confederation. We have fought the battle of Union. We have had party strife, setting province against province; and, more than all, we have had in the greatest province, the preponderating province of the Dominion, every prejudice and sectional feeling that could be arrayed against us. I have been the victim of that conduct to a great extent, but I have fought the battle of Confederation, the battle of Union, the battle of the Dominion of Canada. I throw myself upon this House ; I throw myself upon this country ; I throw myself upon posterity ; and I believe that I know that, notwithstanding the many failings in my life, I shall have the voice of this country and this House rallying round me. And, Sir, if I am mistaken in that, I can confidently appeal to a higher court—to the court of my own conscience, and to the court of posterity. I leave it with this House with every confidence. I am equal to either fortune. I can see past the decision of this House, either for or against me, but whether it be for or against me, I know, and it is no vain boast for me to say so, for even my enemies will admit that I am no boaster—that there does not exist in Canada a man who has given more of his time, more of his heart, more of his wealth, or more of his intellect and power, such as they may be, for the good of this Dominion of Canada."

It was evident, however, as the debate progressed, that the time for special pleading and excuse was past. The conscience of the country had been shocked by the revelation made of the methods by which the late election had been won for the

Conservative party, many of Macdonald's own followers were in painful doubt, and independent members who had hitherto supported his great lines of policy were falling away. Early in the morning of November 5th, the member for Winnipeg, Mr. Donald A. Smith (now Lord Strathcona) spoke amid great excitement in the House, as neither party knew what course he would take. In the early part of his speech he dwelt favourably upon what the government had accomplished. But he concluded by saying that :—"With respect to the transaction between the government and Sir Hugh Allan, he did not consider that the first minister took the money with any corrupt motive. He felt that the leader of the government was incapable of taking money from Sir Hugh Allan for corrupt purposes. He would be most willing to vote confidence in the government—could he do so conscientiously. It was with very great regret that he felt he could not do so. For the honour of the country, no government should exist that has a shadow of suspicion of this kind resting on them, and for that reason he could not support them."

It has been generally believed that it was this speech which decided Macdonald's course. Recognizing that defeat was inevitable, without awaiting the result of the debate he placed his resignation in the hands of the governor-general and on the same day (November 5th, 1873) announced in the House that the government had resigned and that Mr. Alexander Mackenzie had been called upon to form a ministry. So ended under a dark cloud of public suspicion the great administration under which Confederation had been inaugurated and the country launched upon the flood of its larger destinies.

On the dissolution of parliament and the appeal to the electors which soon followed the formation of a new administration, overwhelming defeat at the polls fell upon Macdonald and his party. He himself narrowly escaped rejection in his old constituency of Kingston, and his whole following in the new parliament barely numbered forty-five in a House of two hundred and six members. As with Palmerston in 1858 opponents thought and loudly proclaimed that his political career was ended. Confident in his own integrity of purpose, and in the strength of his hold upon the popular mind; confident too in his plans for the future of the country, and convinced that the country would yet have need of him, Macdonald bowed to the storm, faced the situation with undaunted courage, and took up with cheerfulness the work of leading the Opposition. To this task he was called by the absolutely unanimous vote of his small band of followers in parliament.

CHAPTER X

THE NATIONAL POLICY

1873 TO 1878

THE early sessions of the first Liberal administration of the Dominion were not marked by any factious opposition on the part of Macdonald. Many useful measures were brought forward by the government in the wisdom of which he fully concurred, while to others he proposed amendments increasing their value but not destroying their principle. Never had his vigour of intellect and splendid buoyancy of spirit shown to greater advantage than when leading an almost forlorn parliamentary hope. He had offered, when defeated, to resign the leadership of his party, but his followers with absolute unanimity had refused even to think of serving under any one else. Consummate tactician that he was, he abstained from exposing the weakness of his party-following in the House by frequent divisions, and devoted himself to careful legislative criticism, to study of the electorate, and to patient waiting for that revulsion of popular feeling in his favour which he was confident would come.

Raillery, rather than the more violent methods urged by some of his friends, marked his attacks on the government. "Give the Grits rope enough," was his reply to such suggestions, "and they will hang themselves." To say that the event justified his predictions might perhaps not be altogether fair to his Liberal opponents, against whom circumstances worked which had no connection with any defects of policy or errors of judgment on their part. Still, in the light of events, Macdonald appeared to his friends to have spoken in the spirit of prophecy; and there is little doubt that his dictum was founded on a certain insight into the characteristics of the Liberal party of his day as well as a profound understanding of the temper of the Canadian people. A great general's success often depends as much upon his power of anticipating the errors of adversaries as upon any combination of his own. So it was in the battlefield of politics with Macdonald.

The leading members of the Liberal party of that day, it is generally admitted, had high ideals of political purity and honesty in administration, though the rank and file were probably as ready as any other to win elections by such means as came to their hands. Macdonald himself would perhaps have agreed that Alexander Mackenzie and Edward Blake had standards of political morality stricter in some particulars than his own. At any rate they claimed them, and on that claim had come into power. But they were cautious even to timidity. No temper could be less fitted to win popularity and secure power in the young and ambitious Dominion during the early years of Confederation. Macdonald clearly foresaw that their attitude on more than one great public question foredoomed them to failure in the task of satisfying popular desires.

The refusal to carry out the terms of the agreement to build within ten years a transcontinental railway, alienated the West and drove British Columbia to the verge of secession. Mackenzie himself, than whom no more high-minded and indefatigable man ever served a British colony, lacked Sir John's skill in cabinet making and in the arts by which a political majority is held together. Nor did he ever secure in an equal degree the loyalty of colleagues. Discontent became rife among his followers ; dissensions became frequent in the cabinet and were more than once fought out on the floor of the House. Meanwhile Macdonald was not relying alone upon the mistakes of his opponents. He was steadily shaping a large constructive policy and skilfully appealing to the electorate on lines adapted to stir popular enthusiasm. To the development of the North-West and the fulfilment of the bargain with British Columbia, he stood pledged. To these planks of his platform he was soon to add another of even more vital consequence, and greater attractiveness. In this he was singularly favoured by the circumstances of the time. Though the reciprocity treaty negotiated by Lord Elgin in 1854 had come to an end in 1866 owing to its denunciation by the government of the United States, the early years of the new Dominion were years of prosperity. The farmers gathered in excellent crops; the European markets were favourable; and the perfect freedom of trade between the provinces which came with Confederation greatly enlarged the field for the nascent manufacturing industries of the towns. But about 1873 a tide of economic depression swept over the whole North American continent. In great measure it was one of those commercial crises which can neither be foreseen nor prevented. It did not originate in Canada, and was not confined to her borders. But the undeveloped and struggling colony was far less fitted to bear the industrial strain than her powerful neighbour, and the conditions of the crisis in the United States greatly increased her distress. The protective policy of that country gave no hope to the Canadian manufacturer, and was beginning to cripple also the lumbermen and the farmers. In the opinion of many, perhaps of most, Canadians that policy was, in part at least, intended to drive Canada into union on such terms as Washington might impose. On the other hand, manufacturers of the United States, whom a protective policy had stimulated to over-production, finding in the prevailing depression large surplus stocks on their hands, threw them upon Canada as a slaughter market, or in the language of a later day, as a dumping ground. The Canadian manufacturer was thus ground between the upper and nether millstones of an unfair competition, while the farmer found his home market contracted and his foreign market rendered precarious and uncertain.

The trade with Great Britain in perishable agricultural products which has since become so important, was not then possible, since the cold storage system on which it depends had not been developed. Every interest, indeed, was depressed. The result was speedily apparent in the falling revenue of the country. The Liberals, whose watchward was economy and whose goal was free trade, were compelled by sheer necessity to raise the tariff. Even so there was a yearly deficit, which in 1876-7 amounted to nearly two million dollars. In the same year the customs dues from which one half the revenue was derived fell from $15,351,000 to $12,546,000. In the words of the finance minister, Mr. (afterwards Sir Richard) Cartwright, " a commercial crisis, great and almost unparalleled in severity " reigned throughout the country. It was under such circumstances that on March 10th, 1876, Sir John Macdonald brought forward in the House a resolution in favour of a "National Policy" of increased protection to mining, manufacturing and agricultural interests, and in doing this he received the united support of the Conservative opposition. He had struck the true note of

Canadian feeling. After thirty years experience in carrying out the system then proposed, his countrymen are practically unanimons in thinking that he had also found the true line of Canadian interest.

The previous tariff history of Canada presents few features of interest. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick before Federation had a low tariff for revenue purposes, with an extensive free list. Canada in 1859, under the guidance of Mr. (afterwards Sir A. T.) Galt, introduced a rather high tariff, with a distinct leaning to protection. The Duke of Newcastle, the colonial secretary, under pressure from manufacturing constituencies in Great Britain, protested and threatened disallowance, but Galt stood firm. In 1866, on the eve of Federation, this tariff had been lowered in order to render possible a compromise with the Maritime Provinces, and in 1867 the Dominion tariff had been fixed at a rate which roughly amounted to fifteen per cent. *ad valorem*, with a free list of moderate extent. From that date the desire for a distinctly protective policy had been steadily growing, and since 1870 petitions in its favour had been coming in, frequently coupled with the idea of retaliation on the United States.

The very name, "National Policy," had been used as early as 1871 by Sir Francis Hincks, and is usually supposed to have been adapted and applied to the policy of protection by Sir Charles Tupper.

Macdonald did not now place himself at the head of the movement without careful study of the Canadian stituation, nor until he was convinced that the time was ripe for change. Some of his supporters were impatient with his deliberation. " Sir John was timid unto death of protection, had to be bullied into it, led into it, committed to it by others. But when he thought it grown, he used it as a bridge to reach the power he liked to wield," wrote in after years one of his parliamentary followers. A view such as this scarcely does justice to Macdonald's record on the question. He had argued for incidental protection in 1846; had associated himself in 1850 with the British American League, which aimed at framing a commercial national policy; had supported Galt, when, as finance minister in 1858, he had announced protection to native industries as the policy of the government; and had advocated readjustment of the tariff to favour home manufactures in the general elections of 1861 and 1872.

The caution which now marked his course when the rising aspirations and settled judgment of the country had to be translated into practical legislation, was an essential element in his statesmanship. As in the case of Federation he did not catch with facile enthusiasm at the idea floating in the popular mind, nor hastily grasp it as a party weapon. But once adopted, he urged it with a power, a versatility, and a tact which makes him in a very real sense the father of the National Policy. He was splendidly helped by his lieutenants, especially by Sir Charles Tupper and Sir Leonard Tilley. The Nova Scotian leader fought with the almost reckless valour which had marked his struggle for free schools in 1863 and for federation in 1865. But for his unflinching hopefulness it is doubtful whether Sir John would have come triumphantly through the dark days of 1874 and 1875. Sir Leonard Tilley's rare power of financial exposition and commanding weight of personal character were of almost equal service.

No time was lost in putting the new policy before the country, and an original device was hit upon for doing this. During the summer of 1876 a series of political picnics was held throughout the Dominion, more especially in Ontario, under the auspices of the local Conservative associations, and were addressed by Macdonald, Tupper, Tilley, Thomas White and other prominent members of the Opposition. The success of this new experiment in political agitation led to its repetition in 1877, and won the tribute of imitation from the Liberals. Many factories were closed or were but in partial operation at this time, owing to the industrial depression, and so the hands were free to be present at the Conservative picnics, and to hear of the tall chimneys which, as by a wave of the enchanter's wand, were to rise in every province from Halifax to Vancouver. The sympathetic owners of factories still in operation closed their establishments for the day, and encouraged their men to attend. Special rates were given by the railways, and excursion trains were run from all the neighbouring towns, so that immense crowds were drawn together for discussion. At the gathering in London in June, 1877, it was estimated that twenty thousand were present. On such occasions Macdonald's winning personality, his natural sociability, his ready wit, his marvellous power of remembering faces, were far more valuable assets than his speeches, which, read in cold blood, hardly match his reputation, being largely devoted to attacks, sometimes humorous, sometimes keenly satiric, often abusive, on his political opponents, poor stuff enough when divorced from the jaunty toss of the head, the glancing smile, the shrewd and meaning twinkle which once carried them off. Indeed throughout his career, save on great occasions, he seems to have taken pleasure in leaving to trusted lieutenants the weightier arguments of his case, reserving for himself the lighter parts in the political play. Yet he seldom failed to put before his country audiences, in simple language and without the flowers of eloquence, the pith of the question with which he had to deal. A few passages from his speech at the Norfolk picnic illustrate the simplicity of his style and argument.

" We are in favour of a tariff that will incidentally give protection to our manufacturers ; that will develop our manufacturing industries. We believe that that can be done, and if done it will give a home market to our farmers. The farmers will be satisfied when they know that large bodies of operatives are working in the mills and manufactories in every village and town in the country. They know that every man of them is a consumer, and that he must have pork and flour, beef and all that the farmers raise, and they know that instead of being obliged to send their grain to a foreign and uncertain market they will have a market at their own door. And the careful housewife, every farmer's wife, will know that everything that is produced under her care—the poultry, the eggs, the butter and the garden stuff—will find a ready and profitable market in the neighbouring town and village.

“ No country is great with only one industry. Agriculture is our most important, but it cannot be our only staple. All men are not fit to be farmers; there are men with mechanical and manufacturing genius who desire to become operatives or manufacturers of some kind, and we must have means to employ them, and when there is a large body of successful and prosperous manufacturers, the farmer will have a home market for his produce, and the manufacturer a home market for his goods, and we shall have nothing to fear. And therefore I have been urging upon my friends that we must lay aside all old party quarrels about old party doings.

Those old matters are matters before the flood, which have gone by and are settled forever, many of them settled by governments of which I was a member. Why should parties divide on these old quarrels? Let us divide on questions affecting the present and future interests of the country.

"The question of the day is that of the protection of our farmers from the unfair competition of foreign produce, and the protection of our manufacturers. I am in favour of reciprocal free trade if it can be obtained, but so long as the policy of the United States closes the markets to our products we should have a policy of our own as well, and consult only our own interests. That subject wisely and vigorously dealt with, you will see confidence restored, the present depression dispelled, and the country prosperous and contented."

While Macdonald and his followers were advocating what was at least a specious remedy for the industrial depression, the Liberals had no alternative to offer save the recommendation to the electorate to practice thrift and to wait for the swing of the economic pendulum. The finance minister carried his trust in the laws of political economy so far as to say that it was as vain for governments or legislators to claim credit for the commercial and industrial prosperity of a country as it would be for a fly on a moving wheel to consider itself the author of the motion—an unfortunate simile, as it won for his party the nickname of "Flies-on-the-wheel," which was used to good effect during the picnic campaigns. Besides this, protestations of devotion to free trade sounded hollow coming from a government which had been compelled to dissemble its love for the principle to the extent of raising the tariff. Free trade has before now proved a stimulating and successful party cry, but it was found difficult to arouse any wide-spread enthusiasm for the inherent sanctity of a tariff of seventeen and a half per cent. *ad valorem*. Nor were the members of the government at one on the matter. Of the Liberal leaders, Edward Blake was almost openly in favour of the National Policy. On the other hand David Mills assured the London Chamber of Commerce "that of all systems of taxation there is none more objectionable than incidental protection." Mackenzie and Cartwright both seemed for a time open to conviction. At the bye-election in Montreal in 1876, resulting in the return of Mr. Workman, a strong Liberal but a stronger protectionist, Mackenzie seemed almost persuaded, and Cartwright's replies to a series of delegations in the same year induced a general belief throughout the country that the tariff would be raised to at least twenty per cent. Finally, however, "in deference to their formula" as they were told by Goldwin Smith, "they chose to be stiff-necked, and kicked complaining industry into the camp of their opponents."

"In this country" said Macdonald in 1876, "we are not called upon to break our heads upon theories." The Liberal doctrinaires thought otherwise, and succeeded in dominating their party, to their own overthrow, in the election of 1878. It took eighteen years of opposition to repair the fortunes shattered by this mistake, and when the Liberals again came into power it was to exhibit themselves as practical converts to the policy which Macdonald had established.

Turning again to Macdonald, it should be noted that to the extreme protectionists of his party, he steadily refused to commit himself. In June, 1878, he endeavoured to assuage the anxiety of the Maritime Provinces by a telegram stating that he had "never proposed an increase, but a readjustment of the tariff," and his motion in the House of Commons earlier in the same year was drawn with characteristic skill.

Unlike that of 1876 it does not mention protection, but states "that this House is of opinion that the welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a National Policy which, by a judicious readjustment of the tariff, will benefit and foster the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing and other interests of the Dominion; . . . and moving (as it ought to do) in the direction of reciprocity of tariff with our neighbours, as far as the varied interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to procure for this country, eventually, a reciprocity of trade."

More than one breeze of popular opinion was caught by this resolution. It appealed at once to the deep-seated Canadian suspicion of the United States, and to the strong desire of the farmers for the American market. It was, in fact, a blow at the enemy with the ostensible object of forcing him into a more friendly attitude. Equally important was its appeal to the rising national sentiment of the Dominion, of which the National Policy was the crystallization.

In 1870 an association of able and ambitious young men, known as the "Canada First" party, had been formed in Toronto. Their actual proposals were of less importance than the stimulus which they gave to the national aspirations: their call to Canada to depend not on British or American patronage in commerce or politics, but on herself. Canadian individuality, vigorously worked out on lines not inconsistent with close imperial connection, was the key-note of the party's policy. Around this ideal gathered a number of clever and independent thinkers. For a time they were supported by the distinguished name and skilful pen of Goldwin Smith. They exerted a powerful influence over the course of events at the time of the first North-West rebellion. In the 1878 campaign they were nearly all on the side of Macdonald.

To another argument not brought into his motion, but presented in his speech, Macdonald probably attached greater importance than to the hope of bringing the United States to its knees. This was the possibility of obtaining a trade preference from Great Britain. After giving a sketch of her unique commercial position at the close of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, and of the subsequent gradual growth of trade rivals and also of hostile tariffs, he said :—

"I am an old man, but I think I may live to see the time when that cry may be successful in England; the time when, if reciprocity in trade and equitable commercial treaties cannot be obtained, the people of England will say, 'we will not allow our industries and our accumulated capital of so many years to be swept away by nations who do not give us a chance of competing in their markets, and who, by their legislation, specially exclude England.'"

On his return to power Macdonald took steps to press his views upon the home government. The appointment of his old finance minister, Sir A. T. Galt, as high commissioner in London, had apparently a close connection with this object, and there is reason to think, from a debate on the subject in the Canadian House in 1880 that, had Lord Beaconsfield's government been sustained, important developments might have taken place. In 1891 Macdonald again urged upon the mother country the policy of preferential treatment, and received encouraging letters from the Hon. W. H.

Smith, then leader of the British House of Commons. But the feeling in favour of preferential trade was not yet strong enough in the motherland to justify responsible statesmen in making it a political issue. We need only note here the foresight which anticipated the movement of late years.

The general election came on in September, 1878. The government had been warned by the loss of a series of bye-elections—a most significant circumstance in a country where the allotment of public works is openly made the reward of support to the party in power. But the Mackenzie administration was curiously confident in the strength of its position, and so the triumph of Macdonald and the Conservative party came as a great surprise. The Opposition swept every province except New Brunswick, carrying in Ontario sixty-three seats out of eighty-eight, and in the whole Dominion one hundred and forty-six out of two hundred and six. Macdonald was himself defeated in his old constituency of Kingston, but was elected in two western divisions, and decided to sit for Victoria, British Columbia.

Early in the next year Sir Leonard Tilley, as finance minister, introduced a bill to give effect to the National Policy, which was frankly based upon the theory of a qualified protection, its principle being "to select for a higher rate of duty those articles which are manufactured or can be manufactured in the country, and to leave those that are neither made nor are likely to be made in the country at a lower rate." This has ever since been the trade policy of the Conservative party of Canada. As has been mentioned before, the Liberal party was practically compelled to adopt it on coming into power in 1896.

From 1874 to 1878 the rate charged on dutiable goods had been about twenty per cent. The National Policy, usually spoken of as the N.P., raised it to about twenty-five per cent., while in many cases substituting specific or compound duties for *ad valorem*. During the following years a good many changes were made, some really useful—others which seemed mere tinkering to meet special demands. In 1887 important reforms were introduced, the average rate on dutiable goods rising to nearly thirty per cent., and iron being now for the first time specially protected, in order to still the discontent of Nova Scotia, which indulged hopes of becoming in the industrial system of Canada what Pennsylvania is in that of the United States. From 1890 onwards until the Liberals came into office in 1896 a slight tendency to reduction of duties may be traced, but few changes of importance were made.

The advantage of the system thus inaugurated is now scarcely a subject of discussion in Canada. Under its stimulating influence business improved and the revenue promptly expanded to such a degree that the government was able to show a considerable surplus. A marked increase in prosperity followed, even if it were not wholly created by, the new system. Every department of national life revived, and it may now be safely affirmed that the adoption of the National Policy went far to create in Canada a higher and more confident national spirit.

CHAPTER XI

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY AND THE NORTH-WEST

THE Intercolonial Railway had been built as a necessary link between the old provinces of Canada, to give them cohesion and to create common interests where these had not existed before. But cohesion in the east was only a basis for expansion in the west. On the acquisition and development of the vast regions between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains depended the future of the Dominion. Amid many difficulties and not a little bungling, as we have seen, they were acquired. The construction of railways and the introduction of colonists were essential to their development, and to these objects Macdonald and his colleagues, on their return to power in 1878, addressed themselves with foresight, enthusiasm, and indomitable courage. For the tasks before them, they needed all the support that these qualities at their best could give. It is true that the continent of America had already been bridged and the Rockies had been crossed by a line of railway through the United States, but the conditions under which it had been done had been far different from those with which Canada had now to deal.

The population of the Eastern and Western States numbered forty millions; the advance guard of civilization had been pushed far west of the Mississippi; a large and wealthy population had already settled and built great cities on the Pacific coast, before the people of the United States attempted to link together their east and west. The white inhabitants of British Columbia, on the other hand, numbered only ten thousand; the whole population of Eastern Canada only four millions; two thousand miles of the country to be traversed were practically without a settler when the statesmen of the Dominion undertook the gigantic task of uniting their most distant borders by a line of rails, recognized by them as a necessary part of the frame-work of a great nation. Four hundred miles of rough granitic country north of Lake Superior, uninhabited, and, save for a mining population, well-nigh uninhabitable; then one thousand two hundred miles of virgin prairie; after that five hundred miles of mountain railway through the almost unexplored passes of the Rocky and Selkirk Ranges; this was the problem that confronted the engineer, the contractor, the financier, the politician. The skill of the engineer, the resources of the builder, the audacity of the financier were all to be strained to the utmost. But all these would have been of no avail but for the unflinching courage of the strong men at the helm of the State, in whom the people had put their trust. Under the terms of the bargain made with British Columbia in 1870, the railway connecting the Pacific with the Atlantic was to be begun within two years, and completed within ten. The work was to be carried out by a private company assisted by large money and land subsidies from the Dominion government. When Macdonald's administration fell in 1872, it of course became impossible for the company represented by Sir Hugh Allan to carry on the work, even if it had been able, as it was not, to raise the necessary capital.

The Liberal party had, while in opposition, vigorously criticized the original scheme, as placing too heavy a burden upon the resources of the Dominion. On coming into power it adopted a policy of government ownership, and of gradual construction in scattered sections connecting the extensive lake and river stretches which it was proposed to utilize as part of the highway from east to west. The agreement with British Columbia was abandoned as impossible of fulfilment. That province naturally resented what it considered a breach of faith. A representative of the government sent out to allay the discontent failed in accomplishing his purpose, and all the tact and influence of Lord Dufferin, then governor-general, who visited the province in 1876, was required to prevent the repudiation of the Confederation agreement.

On Macdonald's restoration to power in 1878 his first care was to carry out his election pledges in regard to a national trade policy. But no sooner was this inaugurated than he reverted to the transcontinental railway scheme which he had always deemed essential to the consolidation of the Dominion. Experience with the Intercolonial had now converted him from his earlier preference for government ownership and operation, and on June 29th, 1880, he announced at a political picnic at Bath, Ontario, that negotiations were on foot with a syndicate of private capitalists. In September the contract was signed. In six years it was completed.

Never did a young country embark upon a more audacious enterprise ; never did capitalists throw their all into a more hazardous speculation ; never did a cool and wary politician more strikingly display a readiness to risk his reputation and his fame on a momentous adventure. Among the obstacles to the work, not the least serious was the pessimistic view of the situation taken by the leaders of the Liberal party. Even when in power in 1874 Alexander Mackenzie, the Liberal prime minister, in a formal State paper of instructions to Mr. Edgar, the agent of the government sent to British Columbia, had described the task of completing the line in the ten years as a "physical impossibility." "You can point out," he said, "that the surveys for the Intercolonial were begun in 1864, and the work carried on uninterruptedly ever since, and although the utmost expedition was used, it will still require eighteen months to complete it. If it required so much time in a settled country to build five hundred miles of railway, with facilities everywhere for procuring all supplies, one may conceive the time and labour required to construct a line five times that length through a country all but totally unsettled."

No one doubts the honesty of conviction with which such an opinion was given; the accuracy of judgment can only be measured by the fact that when Macdonald was again in a position to control the work the whole line was completed for through traffic, as has been said, in six years. Alexander Mackenzie had in 1880 been replaced in the Liberal leadership by Edward Blake, a man of equal honesty of purpose and wider range of ability, but little imagination or enthusiasm. Both in parliament and throughout the country the new leader employed his power in delivering a series of eloquent but mournful attacks upon the railway contract, in which he fancied he saw ruin for the State. The leading Liberal organ declared that the new line would never "pay for its axle-grease." Nor were political opponents the only critics. British financiers, looking coolly at the vast stretches of country to be covered, inclined towards the opinion of one of their number who said, "Somebody will have to hold these Canadians back, or they will plunge themselves into hopeless bankruptcy before they come of age."

The history of the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway reads like a chapter of romance. The original Canadian directors of the syndicate were Mr. George Stephen (now Lord Mount Stephen), Mr. Duncan MacIntyre and Mr. R. B. Angus. Behind them was Mr. Donald A. Smith (now Lord Strathcona), member of parliament for Selkirk, whose speech in 1873 had so largely contributed to Macdonald's defeat, but who, by 1878, had come to feel that on his return to power depended the future of the West and of Canada.

By the original contract the company was to receive twenty-five million dollars in cash, twenty-five million acres of land in alternate blocks along the route, and all lands required for stations and workshops. The government handed over to it six hundred and forty one miles of railway, partly in process of construction, partly completed, and estimated by the minister of public works as having cost twenty-eight million dollars. The company was allowed to import its materials free of duty, and its lands were to be free of taxation for twenty years. For a like period no competing road was to be built south of its main line, a provision intended as a protection against American competition, but which proved so irksome to the province of Manitoba that in 1888 the company, for certain considerations, abandoned it. These privileges were great, but not, it is now universally admitted by impartial men, too great for the vast task that was being undertaken.

At the last moment the Opposition succeeded in getting up a rival syndicate headed by Sir William P. Howland, which offered to do the work on conditions more favourable to the government. Macdonald denounced their attempt as a "disingenuous and discreditable trick," and flatly refused to take any notice of an offer made, after the signature of the contract, by a company whose members had made no effort to tender while the offer was open.

The Canadian Pacific Company forthwith addressed itself to the work with extraordinary vigour. Over considerable sections of the line all previous records of speedy railway construction were eclipsed. The greatest public spirit was shown by individual directors; Donald Smith faced beggary and threw his all into the work of construction.

Even so, the resources of the company proved insufficient, and the government on several occasions were compelled to come to its aid with loans and subventions. Many of the more cautious Conservatives proved restive. Even among the ministers there was discontent, and all Macdonald's tact and Tupper's fiery energy were required to hold their majority together. Stories are told of debates, long and doubtful, in the council chamber, while without white-faced directors, with possible ruin before them, paced the halls waiting for the decision.

But Macdonald triumphed, and on November 7th, 1885, at Craigellachie, a lonely village of British Columbia, the last spike of the main line was driven by Sir Donald Smith, and on July 24th, 1886, Macdonald himself reached the Pacific by rail from Ottawa. The company had completed its contract with four years to spare.

The operation of the road during the next ten years was almost as great a feat as its construction. The problem before the company was to create a traffic where none had existed before, through nearly two thousand miles of virgin prairie and what Mr. Blake had called a sea of mountains, where there was scarcely any population to serve. Mr. (now Sir William) Van Horne was made president of the company in 1888, and brought to his arduous task an unrivalled skill in railway development. Mining, lumbering and other industries were freely subsidized or otherwise encouraged along the route; branch lines were built; land settlement assisted; one fleet of steamships was placed upon the Pacific and another on the Great Lakes; rate wars were successfully waged with American rivals, and by degrees, through many anxious days, one of the greatest and most prosperous railway systems of the world was firmly established. What the success of the enterprise meant to Canada in establishing the credit of the country and developing its resources is well known. Two parallel transcontinental lines now (1907) in course of rapid construction; a fourth projected; an immense inflow of immigration: an annual output of grain amounting to a hundred millions of bushels; expanding fleets of steamships upon the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Great Lakes;—all these are triumphant witnesses to the wisdom and foresight which lay behind the splendid audacity of Macdonald, Tupper, Lord Strathcona and the group of men who carried through this national undertaking.

Before the completion of the railway its military value was put to the test. On March 28th, 1885, word arrived at Ottawa that two days before a force of mounted police and volunteers had been attacked at Duck Lake by the half-breeds and compelled to retreat with heavy loss. A new rebellion had broken out, and it must be acknowledged that the circumstances which led up to it are not creditable to the Conservative government. It will be necessary briefly to rehearse the facts of the case.

Under the Manitoba Act two hundred and forty acres of land had been awarded in fee simple to every half-breed resident born before July 1st, 1870. Nothing was done, however, to extinguish by grant or purchase the title of their brethren further west in the Territories, and the complaints of the little band who had settled along the South Saskatchewan in the neighbourhood of the forts grew louder and louder. The story was repeated of lethargy and inefficiency on the one side; of ignorance and suspicion on the other.

The *métis*, in accordance with their ancestral custom borrowed from Lower Canada, had occupied long strips of land, each with a narrow frontage on the river. The Dominion surveyors, who came among them, parcelled out the land in neat squares, and paid scant attention to the complaints of the settlers. Ottawa was far away, and the premier, who would naturally have been sympathetic, was busy with what seemed larger questions nearer home. Once he roused himself, and in 1879 an Act was passed awarding grants to the half-breeds, but, for reasons difficult to explain, nothing was done. Nor were the wrongs of the *métis* confined to the unsettled state of their tenure. Many of the white settlers were undesirable; many of the local government officials were party hacks "totally unqualified for their positions," according to Bishop Taché. If Ottawa was far away "hungry partisans who mark the new and defenceless territory as their perquisite"[1] were on the spot. "Riel put his fighting men in his first line," wrote Lord Minto, "but in his second line we may perhaps find the disappointed contractor, the disappointed white land shark, the disappointed white farmer."[2]

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[1] Goldwin Smith.

[2] *Nineteenth Century*, 1885.

The *métis* had constituted a most valuable connecting link between the white invaders and the old lords of the soil. Blackfoot and Cree now grew restless as they saw the discontent of their friends and leaders. Nor is a darker shadow absent. The debauchery of low whites, and their unfair dealing, added fuel to Indian passion. A rising of the prairie tribes, who had not yet experienced the generous treatment since accorded to them by the Dominion, was imminent.

The mutterings of the coming storm grew louder. Petitions poured into the Department of the Interior, to be pigeon-holed and neglected. Bishop Taché pleaded the cause of the scattered people whom he loved so well. Charles Mair, the author, who was living at Prince Albert in close proximity to the half-breeds, came on several occasions to Ottawa to impress on the authorities the seriousness of the situation. Macdonald heard him courteously, recognized the justice of the case which he stated, and made a passing attempt to stimulate his colleague at the Interior into action. But counsels were divided. Two ministers, who visited the country, heard from their flatterers that all was going well, and reported that nothing serious need be feared.

Such was the situation when in 1884 the half-breeds of the St. Laurent settlement sent a deputation on a weary foot journey of seven hundred miles to their old leader, Louis Riel, who had for some years been living quietly in Montana. In his fiery and fanatical brain ambition seems to have mingled with his old idea of a western theocracy, French and Catholic, free from the defiling taint of the Englishman and the heretic. But though he returned with the deputation to the Saskatchewan, nothing more than constitutional agitation was anticipated, till, after one or two scattered outbreaks of lawlessness, the affair at Duck Lake set the whole country ablaze.

In face of the thought of an Indian rising, party divisions were hushed and troops were sent forward under Major-General Middleton, the general officer commanding the Canadian militia. The citizen soldiery of Canada fought well in a series of small engagements; on May 12th the rebel camp was stormed at Batoche and three days later Riel surrendered. He was tried for high treason, condemned, and, after several reprieves granted in order to test his sanity, he was hanged on November 16th in the yard of the Mounted Police Barracks at Regina. Fanatic he doubtless was, but he was no coward, and he met his fate with something of the high constancy of a martyr.

Such a circumstance could not fail to arouse the latent jealousies between Ontario and Quebec, French and English, Protestant and Catholic. To Ontario, Riel was either a twice convicted traitor, or an American fillibuster. The powerful Orange order recalled the murder of Scott at Fort Garry, and cried aloud for the punishment of his murderer.

To no small section of Quebec, on the other hand, Riel appeared as the most heroic of all the *métis*, the upholder of their race, religion and language; consequently when Macdonald refused to interfere with the course of law, an ominous revolt broke out among the Quebec Conservatives. The position of both political parties now became extremely difficult. The Opposition at first endeavoured to make capital out of the undoubted defects in administration which had in part brought on the rebellion, and on July 6th Mr. Blake spoke for several hours in support of a motion of want of confidence. He had material for argument, but the progress of events soon threw mere debate into the background. The Liberal leader in Quebec was Mr. Honore Mercier, the most brilliant, fascinating and unscrupulous politician that the provincial politics of Canada has produced. With consummate skill he formed an alliance between the clericals and the "Nationalistes"; the Liberals, so long under the ban of the Church, found themselves suddenly its allies. In the flood of feeling that had been aroused Mercier saw his political opportunity and turned all his influence as Liberal leader under these new conditions towards the protection of Riel.

Amid this swelling and raging tide, Macdonald stood firm. When a life-long friend, unconnected with either party, urged on him the need of mercy, in order to conciliate Quebec, the old man turned on him with toss of head and stamp of foot, all the lion in him roused. "He shall hang," he said fiercely, "though every dog in Quebec bark in his favour." He would have no more of this firebrand who had twice set the Dominion in a blaze, twice attempted to undo in one mad hour the work of a generation. Had political expediency been consulted it would doubtless have dictated the same decision, for Ontario was at as white a heat as Quebec. The Toronto *Mail*, the official Conservative organ, declared that rather than submit to the yoke of the French-Canadians "Ontario would smash Confederation into its original fragments, preferring that the dream of a united Canada should be shattered forever, than that unity should be purchased at the price of equity."

CHAPTER XII

PROVINCIAL RIGHTS

MACDONALD'S preference for a legislative rather than a federal union was strongly put forward at the Quebec conference. In submitting the result of that conference to the parliament of the old provinces of Canada in 1865 he stated it anew. "As regards the comparative advantage of a legislative and a federal union, I have never hesitated to state my own opinions. I have again and again stated in the House that, if practicable, I thought a legislative union would be preferable. I have always contended that if we could agree to have one government and one parliament legislating for the whole of these peoples, it would be the best, the cheapest, the most vigorous, and the strongest system of government we could adopt." The explicit way in which he at the same time publicly announced his conviction, as the result of the conference, that a legislative union was impracticable, and that he yielded his own judgment to the general opinion, renders quite incredible the statement made with some hesitation by the biographer of Sir Georges Cartier that Macdonald again tried during the negotiations of 1866-7 in London to modify to this end the British North America Act, and was only prevented from doing so by the resolute opposition of Cartier.

But the original bias of his mind on this question, so frankly expressed, explains the fact that his general inclination in interpreting the constitution and in working the machinery of government, was to limit as far as possible the area of provincial rights, and to concentrate control in the hands of the general government. The assertion of State sovereignty had lately led on to secession in the United States, and the union had only been maintained at the price of one of the most frightful wars of modern times. He therefore strove conscientiously to save the Dominion from a danger written so large in contemporary history. More than once he failed to carry out his views, and it may well be that he exaggerated the danger and made too little allowance for other considerations. Provincial patriotism was enlisted in vigorous opposition to what sometimes looked like federal aggression, and more than once his purpose was overruled. It may fairly be claimed that his prevailing motive was a larger patriotism which aimed at national consolidation. It is yet too soon to form a final judgment of his policy on this difficult question. Time and experience alone can decide whether the advocate of centralized strength or those who championed local independence most contributed to the permanent good of his country. We may hope that Canada has found the golden mean between conflicting ideas. Fortunately our empire offers opportunities to carry out political experiments on varying lines and on a great scale. Under the federal system adopted by Australia the importance and independence given to the individual State furnish a strong contrast to the ideas which prevailed in Macdonald's mind. In the southern commonwealth by general admission they have, so far, distinctly militated against the efficiency of the general government, and also against the sense of national unity. It remains to be proved whether counterbalancing advantages have been gained.

In the process of harmonizing federal and provincial rights, constitutional points of delicacy and difficulty arose, and in dealing with them it can scarcely be said that Macdonald did not sometimes allow party considerations to influence his better judgment.

In December, 1876, the Hon. Luc Letellier de St. Just, a senator of the Dominion, and an exceedingly active Liberal politician, was appointed by the Mackenzie administration lieutenant-governor of the province of Quebec, at that time under the control of a Conservative majority and ministry in the local legislature. The relations of the lieutenant-governor and his advisers were from the first marked by mutual distrust, and finally resulted in a quarrel which grew more and more bitter as time went on. The climax was reached when an important measure was passed through the legislature without having been previously submitted to the governor, and proclamations over his signature were issued with which his first acquaintance was made on their appearance in print. Angered at these gross breaches of courtesy M. Letellier abruptly dismissed the ministry on the ground that they had acted "contrary to the rights and prerogatives of the Crown." The act was probably only that of a high-spirited, impulsive man, irritated beyond endurance by the unseemly conduct of his ministers. But it was not difficult for opponents to believe that the dismissal of ministers possessing a majority in the legislature, the formation of a new administration, and the dissolution which followed, resulting in the return of a small Liberal majority, were all measures carried out as moves in the party game, since the control of the local legislature might considerably influence the coming Dominion election.

In bringing the matter before parliament Macdonald, then in Opposition, did so on high constitutional ground in a resolution which affirmed that "the recent dismissal by the lieutenant-governor of Quebec of his ministers was, under the circumstances, unwise and subversive of the position accorded to advisers of the Crown since the concession of the principle of responsible government to the British North American colonies." This proposition was maintained in a moderate and powerful speech in which he quoted a long array of precedents from British and colonial history to prove "the principle that so long as the ministry of the day have the confidence of the people they should have the confidence of the Crown." The resolution introduced by Macdonald was voted down in the Commons by Mr. Mackenzie and his Liberal majority, chiefly on the ground that the intervention of the Dominion parliament in the case would amount to interference with provincial autonomy. A corresponding motion was, however, carried in the senate. Meanwhile M. Joly de Lotbinière, the Liberal leader, who had assumed full responsibility for the action of the lieutenant-governor, was sustained in the provincial election by a majority of one, so that the lieutenant-governor could claim a nominal popular endorsement for his action, and also could shelter himself under the principle which Macdonald had upheld. At the ensuing session of parliament, when the Conservatives were again in power, the motion of censure was renewed by a French Conservative member in precisely the same terms as had been used by Macdonald, and was carried by a large majority. Such a vote of censure by the federal parliament necessarily involved the dismissal of the lieutenant-governor, and advice to this effect was tendered by Sir John and his cabinet to the governor-general, the Marquis of Lorne, whose approval was necessary for executive action. His Excellency considered the constitutional point of such significance and delicacy that he deemed it expedient to submit the advice of his council and the whole case with attendant circumstances, to Her Majesty's government for their consideration and instruction. In doing so he observed that the federal system being unknown in Great Britain and her colonies till introduced by the British North America Act of 1867, there were no precedents to serve as guidance in the case, which was of special importance as involving the future relations between the Dominion and provincial governments so far as the office of lieutenant-governor was concerned.

A great outcry followed from the Quebec Conservatives and other extremists of the party at this "subversion of the principles of responsible government" on the part of the governor-general, in reserving for imperial consideration a case in which ministers had given definite advice and in which imperial interests were not concerned. Macdonald defended the constitutionality of the governor-general's course, but at the same time said, "I would have been pleased and gratified, and I think it would have been well, had our advice been at once accepted."

The home government very prudently declined to interfere, and on July 25th, 1879, Letellier was dismissed from office. Broken in health from the anxieties through which he had passed, he died in the following year.

As the province of Quebec had, though only by a small majority, sustained the action of the lieutenant-governor, his dismissal by the federal cabinet seems high-handed and unwarranted, and as the reference to the home government was with the consent of Macdonald and his colleagues, and probably at their suggestion, they should have vigorously defended the governor-general from any aspersions cast upon him. There is reason to believe that Macdonald privately disapproved of the bitterness of his Quebec followers, but hesitated to thwart them, and thought it necessary to sacrifice Letellier to their demands. It was perhaps one of those cases of which he himself said, "There are often times when I do things which are against my conscience, and which I know are wrong; but if I did not make allowance for the weakness of human nature, my party would turn me out of power, and those who took my place would manage things worse." But to assume that others will do worse, as an excuse for doing ill, is to take dangerous moral ground, however it may be regarded from the standpoint of politics.

While to Macdonald it was as much a matter of preference as of interpretation of the constitution to limit, so far as he legally and rightly could, the powers of the provincial legislatures, which he looked upon as a hindrance to his ideal of a united Dominion, there were others who took a widely different view. Foremost among these was the Hon. (afterwards Sir) Oliver Mowat. Under his direction the province of Ontario maintained a long and obstinate contest with the federal government, ending in a victory for the provincial point of view, and in almost the only serious constitutional defeat that Macdonald ever suffered. Oliver Mowat had been one of the three Reformers in the coalition ministry of 1864, and had resigned in the same year to accept the position of vice-chancellor of Upper Canada. Now, after eight years of service on the bench, he reëntered political life to become premier of Ontario and leader of the Liberal party in that province in succession to the Hon. Edward Blake, who had withdrawn from the local legislature on the passing of a bill abolishing dual representation, in other words, the right previously enjoyed by members of the Dominion parliament of being elected also to the provincial legislature.

Mr. Mowat had in early years been an articled clerk in the law office of Macdonald in Kingston, and, in spite of political differences, retained both affection and regard for his old chief. Though the current of Canadian politics had led him to identify himself with the Liberals, his mind was essentially that of a Scottish Conservative, thrifty, honest, and cautious almost to excess. His administrative ideals were those of the economical John Sandfield Macdonald ; but he was also a keen and sagacious constitutional lawyer, and during his long premiership of twenty-four years did more than anyone else to settle the relations of the province to the Dominion. The quarrel was in no sense personal, though the keenness of the political struggle sometimes gave it that appearance. As a matter of fact several of Mr. Mowat's contests on behalf of his native province were waged against the Liberal administration of Alexander Mackenzie. In one of these, arising out of a protest made against the validity of an Act passed by the Ontario legislature "to amend the law respecting the sale of fermented or spirituous liquors," principles were laid down in 1883 by the judicial committee of the Privy Council which in their bearing on the status of the provincial legislatures were of the very highest importance. Their Lordships held that the local legislatures were "in no sense delegates of, or acting under, any mandate from the imperial parliament. When the British North America Act enacted that there should be a legislature for Ontario, and that its legislative assembly should have exclusive authority to make laws for the province, and for provincial purposes in relation to matters enumerated in section ninety-two of the British North America Act, it conferred powers not in any sense to be exercised in delegation from, or as agents of, the imperial parliament, but authority as plenary and as ample—within the limits presented by section ninety-two—as the imperial parliament in the plentitude of its powers possessed or could bestow. Within these limits of subject and area the local legislature is supreme, and it has the same authority as the imperial parliament or the parliament of the Dominion would have had under like circumstances." In this view Sir John Macdonald's minister of justice, the Hon. John S. D. Thompson, afterwards concurred, and it may now be regarded as established.

The most important dispute of all, that about the boundaries of Ontario, began as far back as 1871, when Sir John Macdonald at Ottawa, and Sandfield Macdonald at Toronto, appointed, by friendly agreement, commissioners to define the northern and western boundary of that province.

Soon after a Reform government came into power in Ontario, and Macdonald instructed the Dominion commissioner to claim as the northern boundary the height of land dividing the waters which flow into Hudson Bay from those emptying into the valley of the Great Lakes, and in the west a line to coincide with 89°, 9′, 30″ w. longitude. Had this view been adopted, the area of the province would have been one hundred and sixteen thousand seven hundred and eighty-two square miles, and its western limit would have been fixed at six and one-half miles east of Port Arthur.

On the refusal of the provincial premier to accede to this arrangement Macdonald proposed an appeal to the judicial committee of the Privy Council, but Mr. Blake, while not absolutely refusing this offer, preferred a commission sitting on this side of the Atlantic. Under the Liberal régime at Ottawa, a reference to arbitration was arranged, and Sir

Francis Hincks was appointed by the Dominion, Chief-Justice R. A. Harrison by the province, and Sir Edward Thornton, G.C.B., British minister at Washington, by the two other arbiters, to decide the dispute. By their unanimous award made in 1878 the western boundary was placed at 95°, 14′, 38″ w. longitude, and the northern was determined to run along the line of lakes and rivers far north of the height of land connecting the Winnipeg River with the mouth of the Albany River in James Bay. By this award the area of the province was increased from one hundred and sixteen thousand seven hundred and eighty-two square miles to two hundred and sixty thousand eight hundred and sixty-two.

On Macdonald's return to power a few months later he refused to accept this award, and, assuming federal rights over the disputed territory, he proceeded to grant Dominion licenses to cut timber therein, almost wholly, it was asserted, to supporters of the Conservative party. In addition to his general wish to curtail the powers of the local legislatures, and to secure for the Dominion such a source of revenue as the Crown lands, he probably desired to fight with their own weapons the government of Ontario, which had in 1878 thrown the whole weight of its influence and patronage into the scale against him. Moreover the dispute stirred up anew the long existing rivalry between Ontario and Quebec, the latter objecting strongly to so great an aggrandizement of Ontario without the grant of some equivalent for herself. In making this general statement an exception should be recorded in the attitude of Sir Wilfrid (then Mr.) Laurier, who had succeeded to the Liberal leadership in parliament, and who in that position courageously faced the opinion of his own province in supporting Ontario's claims based on the results of the arbitration.

In 1881 a new factor appeared. The province of Manitoba passed an Act consenting, as was necessary under the British North America Act, to the proposed eastward extension of its bounday, when defined by federal authority. This was doubtless done at the suggestion of the Ottawa government, which soon after had a bill passed assigning the additional territory to Manitoba. This preference of Manitoba to Ontario is explained by the fact that in the older provinces the Crown lands are under the control of the local government, whereas in the Prairie Province, created by Macdonald in 1870, they are under federal administration. Mowat suggested an appeal to the Privy Council, but it was now Macdonald's turn to haggle, and he did so with great ingenuity, suggesting a reference to the Supreme Court of Canada, or that some great English legal luminary, such as Lord Cairns, should be invited to act as sole arbiter. In 1883 both provinces endeavoured to take possession of the disputed territory.

The Ontario district of Algoma and the Manitoba constituency of Varennes overlapped, and on September 28th each elected a member to their respective legislatures. At intervals during the summer, encounters more or less serious took place around Rat Portage. The Manitoba police arrested an Ontario tavernkeeper and were themselves arrested by the constables of Ontario. Such a condition of affairs was ludicrous and intolerable, and in the next year the governments of Manitoba and Ontario agreed on a special case, which was tried in July, 1884, before the judicial committee of the Privy Council. To this course the federal government agreed, "so far as it related to the definition of the westerly boundary of Ontario, but not so far as it related to the title to the lands thereby brought into question." After a vast display on both sides of historical, topographical and legal knowledge, the case was decided in favour of Ontario and the award of the arbiters of 1878 practically confirmed. On August 11th, 1884, this decision was ratified by an imperial order-in-council.

Macdonald was not yet beaten. He had expressly reserved the question of the proprietary right to these lands, and in 1882 had assured a Toronto audience that "even if all the territory Mr. Mowat asks for were awarded to Ontario, there is not one stick of timber, one acre of land, or one lump of lead, iron or coal that does not belong to the Dominion government." This rather wildly expressed opinion he based on the ground that the lands were Indian lands, conveyed by them to the Crown. Finally a test case was argued in July, 1888, before the Privy Council, and decided in favour of Ontario, on the ground that the title to the land was "vested in the Crown at the time of the union; the Indian title was a mere incumbrance or burden." In each instance Mowat pleaded his own case with skill and erudition, and vanquished the foremost constitutional lawyers of the Conservative party. He was powerfully helped by the views on federal government and administration held by Lord Watson, whose masterful mind was at that time supreme on the judicial committee. But nothing more conclusively shows the relative greatness in Canadian politics of Sir John Macdonald than that a struggle which marks a culminating point in the career of Sir Oliver Mowat is in his but an incident, and defeat, even on so large a question, a matter of secondary importance. As it turned out his original insistence upon an appeal to the judicial committee of the Privy Council ultimately prevailed.

Connected with this question of provincial rights is the Franchise Act of 1885. By section forty-one of the British North America Act the provincial lists of voters were to be used until the federal parliament saw fit to take further action. While the qualifications demanded differed slightly in the various provinces, and while several attempts at unification were made, no serious difficulty arose, and it was not till 1885 that Macdonald resolved to establish a uniform suffrage. As he wrote to Lord Carnarvon, "The provinces had begun to tinker at their electoral franchises, and in some cases legislated with the direct object of affecting returns of the federal parliament, so that the independence of that parliament was threatened to such a degree that it had to be dealt with."

In consequence, a bill was introduced, the chief provisions of which were: (1) uniformity of the suffrage; (2) a property qualification; (3) federal officers for the preparation and revision of voters' lists; (4) enfranchisement of Indians with the necessary property qualifications. To the enfranchisement of single women (with the necessary property qualifications) he avowed himself personally favourable, but he did not introduce it into the bill. The Opposition believed, not altogether without reason, that the measure was aimed at them, and fought desperately, denouncing the bill as expensive, unnecessary, an assault on provincial rights, and an attempt through the appointment of revising officers to exert underhand influence upon the compilation of the lists. That these officers would be willing instruments of wrongdoing, appeared to many critics of the bill to be a natural, if not necessary, assumptions. Violent scenes took place in the House and a policy of obstruction was deliberately adopted. Twenty-five divisions occurred during a single sitting. Some members of the Opposition spoke more than twenty times, and at inordinate length. One member read to the Speaker the whole British North America Act in French. A single session lasted from three p.m. on Thursday till midnight on Saturday. Eventually the bill was passed, by a vote of eighty-seven to thirty-eight, though not without important amendments, the property qualification being lowered, and the enfranchisement of the Indians of Manitoba, British Columbia, and the North-West Territories abandoned.

Though the bill was one on which Macdonald set great store and which he may almost be said to have forced upon his party, it was not wholly a success. The revising officers in nearly all cases did their work fairly and well, and little if any injustice was done to the Liberals. But it proved expensive and cumbrous, and many Conservatives were not sorry to see its repeal a few years later by the Liberal administration of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

CHAPTER XIII

A LONG LEASE OF POWER

1878 TO 1891

THE last chapters have dealt separately with the most important of the lines of policy carried out by Macdonald after his restoration to power in 1878. From that time to his death in 1891 he held the premiership of the Dominion, and was, as no man had ever been before, or has been since, the determining force in the administration of the government and the development of the country. His countrymen, once having forgiven his greatest political fault, restored to him and renewed again and again a confidence almost unique in the history of constitutional government. During these thirteen years there were three general elections, in 1882, 1887 and 1891. Twice in that time the Liberal party changed its leadership in the effort to strengthen its position and make headway against him. Mr. Mackenzie made way for Edward Blake in 1880, and on the resignation of the latter in 1887, Mr. (now Sir Wilfrid) Laurier succeeded to the difficult post.

Change of policy, it must be said, was tried by the Liberals as well as change of leaders. Commercial union with the United States was brought forward as an alternative for the system of protection which was the note of Macdonald's National Policy, and for a time the new cry seemed likely to catch the popular ear. Later, "unrestricted reciprocity" was adopted as a term less repugnant to Canadian sentiment. But change of leader and change of policy alike failed to displace the veteran of so many political fights, the skilful wielder of so many kinds of influence. Macdonald's name had become one to conjure with, and so long as he lived the Conservative party maintained an unbroken, though perhaps not wholly unshaken, hold on the country. This was due partly to the extraordinary affection and devotion that he inspired among his followers in parliament and the country; partly to his own consummate political strategy. Still more may it be attributed, there can be no reasonable doubt, to the fact that the country at large credited him with a deeper and truer insight into its real needs and aspirations than was ascribed to his opponents. The course of events since that time may be said to have amply justified this opinion. All the greater lines of policy which he initiated or directed have become fixed in the Canadian system. Protection to native industries—the so-called National Policy—was adopted in all its main features by the Liberal party on its accession to power in 1896, and has since been maintained with the minimum of dissent from any quarter. The Canadian Pacific Railway, once vigorously denounced as likely to bring the country to ruin, has proved not merely one of the most successful of business ventures, an instrument of the first importance for the consolidation of the Dominion and an inspiration to the national life, but it has also been the parent of other vast enterprises looking in like manner to the development of the interior of the continent. The policy which he advocated both in England and Canada, of welding the whole empire together by preferential trade, has steadily grown, has been adopted by most of the greater colonies, has been put into actual practice by the Liberal party of Canada, and, in spite of serious obstacles arising from the commercial system of the mother country, seems to be making headway there also.

The main basis of his power, therefore, and of the hold which he retained for so long a time upon the confidence of the Canadian people must unquestionably be considered to have lain in his solid qualities as a statesman, his sound judgment in dealing with the present, and foresight in regard to the future. But these qualities, which fix a statesman's place in history, would scarcely have carried him successfully through his long administrative career had they not been supplemented by others equally rare: keen insight into human nature—a singular capacity for the management of men—skill in parliamentary tactics—naturally high spirits which made light of difficulties—fertility of resource in dealing with them when they arose, and a personal liking for the political game, however perplexing and complicated it might become. No one knew so well as he the truth of his own saying that "Canada is a hard country to govern." When we remember that his cabinets, selected with a view to the representation of all important interests, contained Liberals and Conservatives—men not only of British and French birth, but with British and French prejudices—Roman Catholics and Orangemen—advocates of Irish Home Rule and keen opponents of that measure—men from provinces thousands of miles apart and with widely divergent interests—it is impossible not to admire the skill with which he drew and held them together in the early days of Confederation, before the national sentiment of Canada had as yet been consolidated.

That he did not fear to have strong men around him was amply proved in the selections made for his earlier cabinets. If this was not so apparent in some of his later ministries the fault may have lain, not so much in any fear of strong colleagues, as in the lack of material on which to draw. It must be remembered that he was bound to make his cabinets represent not only different provinces, but also different interests, so that his field of choice was often extremely limited. "Let the country give me good material," he used to say, "and I will give you strong cabinets." Indeed no small part of his success was due to the care he used in selecting colleagues of ability and in giving each an adequate opportunity for the exercise of his special talents. So, also, the devotion felt towards him by his followers sprang largely from his loyalty to them through the many vicissitudes of political life, and the recognition which he was always ready to give to meritorious service. No doubt the strongest of the men who came around him when Confederation was established had already been marked out by public opinion in their different provinces as natural leaders. But it was the most signal proof of Macdonald's ruling ability that the leadership assigned to him in 1867 among this group of powerful men was at no time questioned and was steadily maintained and confirmed in the long series of succeeding years.

Of the men who assisted Macdonald in working out the confederation of Canada and securing the large results which flowed from that epoch-making measure, three at least demand special mention in any biography of their leader, however brief, both for the weight which they brought to his councils, the length and importance of their service, and the loyalty of their allegiance throughout life to himself and to the national ideals which he and they held in common.

Circumstances had drawn him at an early period into close alliance with Georges Etienne Cartier, and it was the coöperation of the two men which for years made the government of the country possible in the difficult period before Confederation. Cartier was a typical French-Canadian, and commanded, as no other man of his generation, the confidence of his compatriots. In his impetuous youth he had joined in the rebellion of 1837, and after the defeat of the rebels he fled with Papineau to the United States. He returned under the general amnesty of 1839, and from that time forward sought to maintain the rights and forward the interests of his people by strictly constitutional means. Attracted by the largeness of spirit and the readiness for conciliation and compromise which he found in Macdonald, he formed with him a political alliance based on equal consideration for the rightful claims of both nationalities. The key to Canadian politics for many a year rested in the fact that the French-Canadians trusted Cartier, and Cartier trusted Macdonald. This alliance, strengthened as time went on by sincere personal friendship, lasted through all the anxious years that led up to Confederation. It was through Cartier that Macdonald so long retained his hold on Quebec. Without Cartier's loyal help it would scarcely have been possible, when the effort for union came, to allay the anxieties of French-Canadians lest they should be swallowed up and their individuality be lost in the large proposed confederacy, plainly destined in the course of time to be preponderantly British.

One shadow, it must be acknowledged, did come at last to mar for a time the friendship which had so long existed between the two men. When Confederation had become an accomplished fact, and the sovereign wished to recognize the labours of the men who had brought it about, Macdonald was made a K.C.B., while only a C.B. was assigned to Cartier and the other leading delegates. To Cartier this was a stinging disappointment, conscious as he was of having performed the most conspicuous and difficult feat of all in having by his personal address and influence won over to the support of Confederation a timorous and reluctant province, which might have proved hopelessly obstructive. He felt it also, no doubt, as a slur upon the French race whose chief representative he was, and whose equality with their English-speaking fellow-subjects was a principle on which no shadow of doubt could be allowed to rest. He blamed Macdonald for the discrimination, though apparently it was entirely due to the action of the imperial authorities, as no intimation had previously been given of Her Majesty's intention to any of the recipients of honours. The mistake was remedied in the following year, when, doubtless on Macdonald's recommendation, Cartier was created a baronet of the United Kingdom, a dignity higher than that assigned to Sir John himself. The correspondence of later years shows that complete cordiality was restored between the old friends. When Cartier was defeated in the election of 1872, in Montreal East, an event which hastened his end, Macdonald wrote to Lord Lisgar: "I do not anticipate that he will live a year, and with all his faults, or, rather, with all his little eccentricities, he will not leave so good a Frenchman behind him—certainly not one who can fill his place in public life. I cannot tell you how I sorrow at this. We have acted together since 1854, and never had a serious difference."

Macdonald at once found a new and safe seat for his defeated colleague. Cartier went to England in the autumn of 1872, in the hope of having his health restored, but died there in 1873, before the crash of the Pacific scandal, for which he was in no small measure responsible. To the last the two old colleagues were in the most intimate and friendly correspondence. "Cartier was as bold as a lion. He was just the man I wanted. But for him Confederation could not have been carried." Such was the tribute Macdonald paid to him on the day when he unveiled the statue of his friend at Ottawa.

The Maritime Provinces, fruitful in vigorous political thinkers, contributed for Macdonald's assistance two men of altogether exceptional ability. Charles Tupper was not included in the first Dominion cabinet for reasons which have been mentioned; but, once in office, became the most powerful of the colleagues who helped Macdonald to carry out his large schemes of constructive statesmanship. He and Macdonald first met at the Quebec conference, when the latter at once recognized in the Nova Scotian leader the qualities which, having placed him at the head of affairs in his own province, were destined to make him a power in the larger field of Dominion politics. The recognition of strength and common purpose was mutual; and before the conference had broken up the two men had made an informal alliance, which was strictly adhered to through all the vicissitudes of the coming years.

Never was Macdonald's intuitive capacity for discovering the essential man for the work that had to be done, exercised more intelligently than in this case. In the reconciliation of Nova Scotia to Confederation, in carrying out a great, expensive and hazardous railway policy, in the establishment of a national fiscal system, in making Canadian expansion compatible with complete allegiance to the empire, the aid which Macdonald received from Sir Charles Tupper can scarcely be exaggerated. In him great natural ability and power as a platform speaker were united with a splendid optimism about his country, a courage that feared nothing, and a resoluteness of purpose which despised any obstacle with which he could be confronted.

If Macdonald looked upon Cartier as an essential factor in effecting Confederation, he would probably have felt no less strongly in reference to the part which Tupper played in carrying out the great railway policy which confirmed and completed the work of union. The speeches by which he defended that policy—the forecasts which he made of north-western development—were at the time ridiculed by the Liberal party in parliament and the Liberal press in the country as exaggerated and absurd. Though the fulfilment of his prophecies was somewhat delayed, he has lived to see his critics put to confusion by the ample justification of his high hopes which time and events have brought about. It is only fair to say that he has also received the frank apology and recantation of more than one great organ of public opinion which once denounced his projects as visionary and fraught with ruin to the country.

Of scarcely less influence in moulding the early history of the Dominion was Samuel Leonard Tilley, who at first took his seat in the cabinet as minister of customs, and later for many years was minister of finance. Previous to Confederation he had long been the foremost figure in the public life of New Brunswick, and it was his weight of character and tenacity of purpose which more than anything else determined that wavering province to commit itself finally to the scheme. Ability in administration and patriotic zeal were in him combined with a strength of moral purpose and a steadfast uprightness which enabled him to go through a long political career with less of the soil of politics than any of his contemporaries of equal standing. It was upon Tilley's financial ability and the confidence which his character inspired among business men that Macdonald chiefly relied when it became necessary to put into actual operation the national policy of protection for native industries. The system which he introduced has remained the settled policy of the country, accepted practically by all parties, for more than a quarter of a century.

It is perhaps the highest of all tributes to the genius of Macdonald that he was able to draw to his support a group of men of the weight and worth of Cartier, Tupper and Tilley, and retain through a long series of years their loyal devotion to him as a leader. Each in his own way a commanding personality, they were of one accord in following Macdonald with unswerving fidelity through all the vicissitudes of his fortune. Along with him they grasped and held tenaciously the idea of a great and united Canada forming an integral part of the empire, and to that end devoted the work of their lives. Many co-workers assisted in the great task. But probably every one of the long list of ministers who served with Macdonald in the Dominion cabinet would have agreed that to Cartier, Tupper and Tilley was due a niche in Canadian history peculiar to themselves, and that something would be lacking in the perspective of Macdonald's career if their names were not specially associated with it.

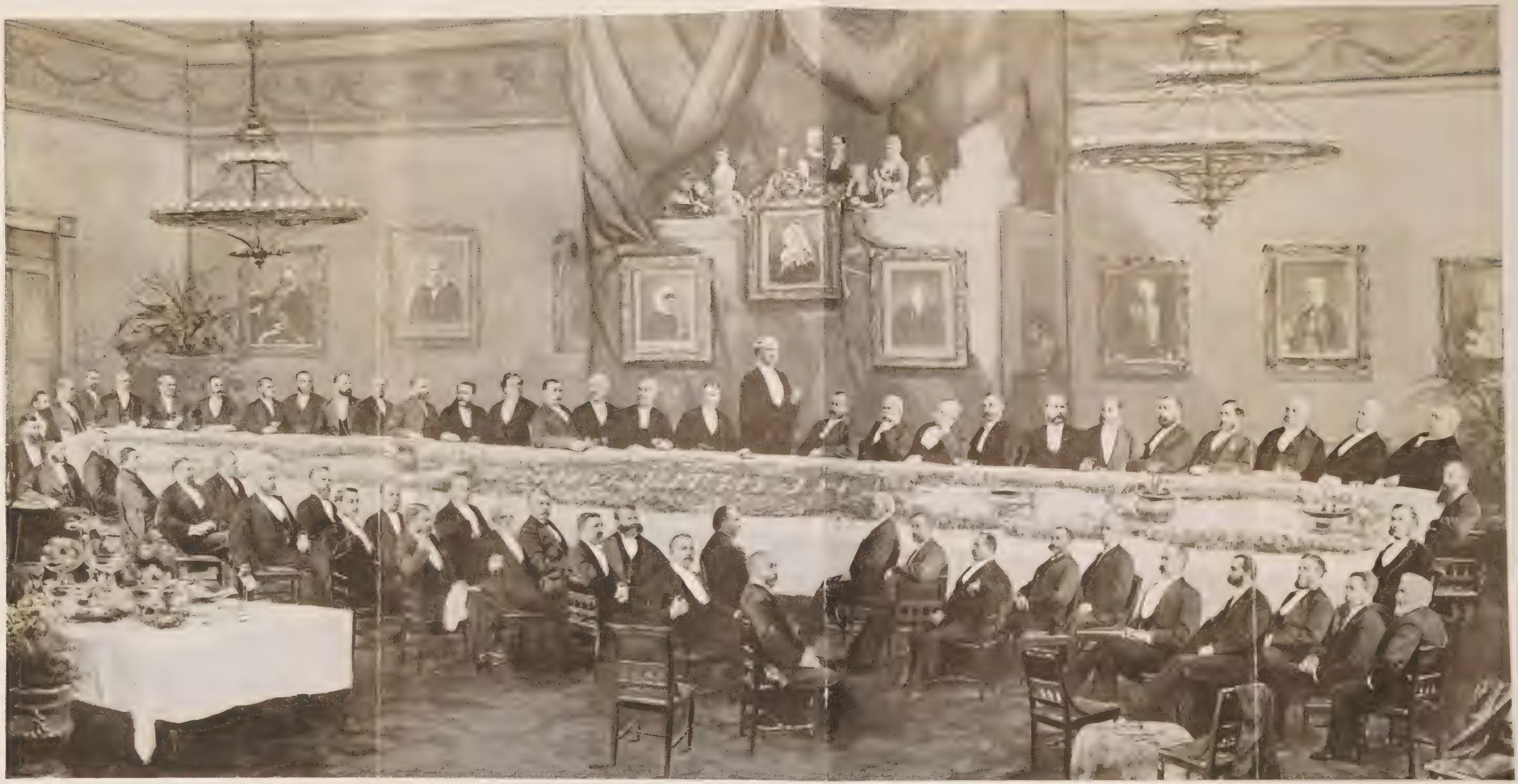
The material available for making any final record of Macdonald's life during his last long lease of power, is in some respects scanty. Mr. Pope, to whom his papers were intrusted, makes no attempt to cover this period exhaustively, believing that the time has not yet arrived for giving to the public documents connected with a period so controversial. Seeing that many of the actors upon the stage of public affairs at that time are still alive, the wisdom of this decision cannot be questioned. It is therefore only possible to follow Macdonald during these years along those lines of his life which were fully open to the public. Here the material is so abundant as to perplex a biographer and almost to defy any attempt at analysis or condensation. His name was the centre around which the political journalism of the time revolved from day to day. The cartoonists of the comic press found in his well-known features their most popular and effective study. The pages of Hansard from 1878 to 1891 reveal as nothing else can his tireless devotion to parliamentary life. In those official records, the reader recognizes his unfailing industry, the variety and minuteness of his knowledge of public affairs—the versatility of his mind—his readiness in debate and repartee—his adroit management of the parliamentary machine through which he worked out his purposes.

The election of 1882 turned chiefly upon the endorsement of the National Policy. The friends of the policy claimed that doubt about its continuance prevented capitalists from investing their money in the country. The system had now been in operation for three years: the country was prosperous, and Macdonald had every reason to look forward to the contest with equanimity. The Opposition, however, unconvinced by facts, still viewed the matter in a different light. "The N. P. is unpopular," its leading journal said, "with the producing classes. . . . . A protective tariff must necessarily mean death—or, which is the same thing, that living death signified by a state of non-expansion—to all Canadian manufacturers." As regards the popularity or unpopularity of the National Policy, something remained to be learnt from the coming election, and still more from others to follow. Meantime, Sir John was preparing a measure intended to make assurance doubly sure, and one which he relied on his parliamentary majority to carry.

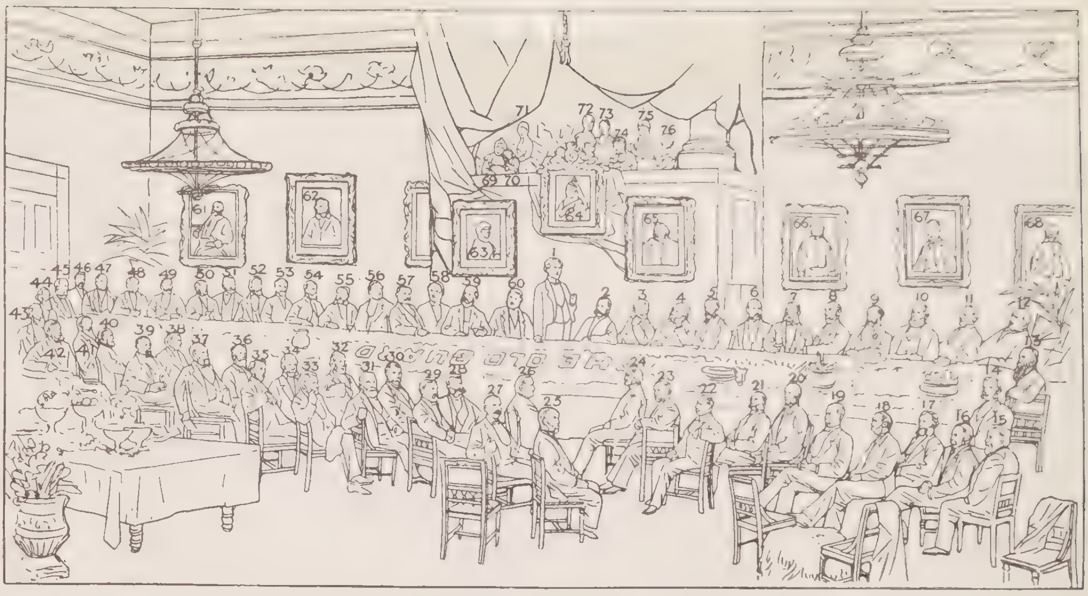
The fourth session of the fourth parliament of Canada had begun on February 9th, 1882. On April 28th, Sir John brought in a bill "to adjust the representation in the House of Commons." A bill of this nature had been rendered necessary by the census of the year before, which had shown that Ontario was entitled, on the basis of population, to four more members than it actually had :

but it was not necessary that it should have been converted, as it was, into a means for placing the Liberals at a still greater disadvantage in the electoral struggle about to ensue. Certain of the changes proposed were natural and proper, and others plainly desirable; but it has been generally admitted that the Act, as a whole, involved an unjustifiable manipulation of the constituencies. Mr. Blake, at that time leader of the Opposition, said that " the honourable gentleman, having a great duty to discharge, one which demanded that he should discharge it upon principles of general public justice, has determined to use his majority to load the dice in the political game which is shortly to be played." In point of fact, county boundaries were roughly altered, and townships flung this way or that in the attempt to alter the political balance. To Liberal constituencies were added Liberal townships from other constituencies previously doubtful, which thus, by the reduction of the Liberal vote, became Conservative. Conservative municipalities were in like manner detached from counties whose majority could be lessened with impunity, and joined to others which trembled in the balance. Macdonald humorously, but too audaciously, described the process as " hiving the Grits," and more seriously defended it as paying back in their own coin what the Ontario Liberals had similarly done on a previous occasion to the detriment of his party; but whether he was particularly careful not to exceed the measure of previous Liberal misdoing may be doubted. The *Globe* (April 29th, 1882) described it as " an Act to keep the Tory party in power till the next census," and added the vigorous comment : " Even in the United States, with its many examples of vicious legislation, we have never heard of such a villainous act of legislation as this. It strikes at the very root of the representative system." A few days later the same paper published a letter from " A Constant Reader," who had reached, as a Liberal, the depths of political pessimism and despair. " Another mistake," wrote this gentleman, "which our leaders make is this—they seem to think the people are pure. It is a great mistake ; they are as corrupt as the government that represents them at Ottawa. Until the Reformers can score one against Sir John by superior low cunning, they will be beaten at the elections."

The *Globe* reproved its correspondent for these remarks, which nevertheless went broadcast through the country. The suggestion made fell into fruitful soil, if we are to judge by the abundant crop of similar sentiments and principles which sprung up in Ontario a few years later, when to support a Liberal régime ballot-stuffing and other gross forms of electoral trickery brought deep disgrace on Canadian politics. The "gerrymander" did harm by the feeling of unfairness and the desire for retaliation which it stirred up in men's minds. It illustrates the manœuvres to which Sir John Macdonald, despite his intellectual breadth, could on occasion descend. It was an unfair piece of party strategy, and in some constituencies worked as it was intended to do. That it had not more influence on the elections was due to the indignation which the measure excited in the minds of his opponents, and the greater intensity of the efforts they put forth in consequence ; also, it was alleged by some of the Reform journals, to a certain lukewarmness induced in the minds of thoughtful Conservatives who shrunk from accepting the maxim that everything is fair in politics. The Liberals at this time had troubles of their own, for there was open dissension among their leaders. Blake, who was far less hostile to the National Policy than were Mackenzie and Cartwright, found his attempts to conciliate the manufacturers were neutralized by doctrinaire pronouncements on the part of his lieutenants. Still, in a speech delivered a few days before the House closed, he confidently predicted that "an indignant and honest people, of whatever political complexion, is about to resent at the polls the fraud which is attempted to be perpetrated upon it." Whatever resentment honest people may have felt, the general result was that the government was sustained by a majority of over sixty, very nearly as many as in the last House. The few votes gained by the "gerrymander" might, therefore, well have been spared.



THE OLD GUARD DINNER, MAY 4, 1882



1. Sir John A. Macdonald, Kingston, Ont.
2. Hon. E. T. Brooks, Sherbrooke, Que.
3. Hon. T. N. Gibbs, Oshawa, Ont.
4. Hon. J. B. Plumb, Niagara, Ont.
5. Hon. C. C. Colby, Stanstead, Que.
6. Hon. L. F. R. Masson, Terrebonne, Que.
7. Lieut.-Col. [illegible], [illegible], Que.
8. Thomas Farrow, North Huron, Ont.
9. G. T. Orton, M.D., Centre Wellington, Ont.
10. William Wallace, South Norfolk, Ont.
11. M. P. Ryan, Montreal Centre, Que.
12. Alonzo Wright, Ottawa County, Que.
13. T. C. A. Desjardins, Hochelaga, Que.
14. Hon. J. H. Pope, Compton, Que.
15. Lachlin McCallum, Monck, Ont.
16. Dalton McCarthy, North Simcoe, Ont.
17. C. F. Ferguson, M.D., North Leeds and Grenville, Ont.
18. Hilaire Hurteau, L'Assomption, Que.
19. Hon. J. A. Ouimet, Laval, Que.
20. Hon. J. C. Wade, Digby, N.S.
21. John Short, Gaspe, Que.
22. P. B. Benoit, Chambly, Que.
23. John White, East Hastings, Ont.
24. Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, Argenteuil, Que.
25. Hector Cameron, North Victoria, Ont.
26. Sir Hector Langevin, Three Rivers, Que.
27. Hon. John Costigan, Victoria, N.B.
28. Hon. J. G. Blanchet, M.D., Levis, Que.
29. Sir. A. P. Caron, Quebec County, Que.
30. Hon. John G. Haggart, South Lanark, Ont.
31. Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, North Hastings, Ont.
32. Hon. P. White, North Renfrew, Ont.
33. Hon. G. A. Kirkpatrick, Frontenac, Ont.
34. D. F. Jones, South Leeds, Ont.
35. J. Domville, Kings, N.B.
36. Hon. Thomas McKay, Truro, N.S.
37. Duncan McMillan, East Middlesex, Ont.
38. J. B. Daoust, Two Mountains, Que.
39. Rufus Stephenson, Kent, Ont.
40. John Rochester, Carleton, Ont.
41. Hon. William McDonald, Cape Breton, N.S.
42. D. O. Bourbeau, Drummond and Arthabaska, Que.
43. Hon. A. Bunster, Vancouver, B.C.
44. Hon. Amor de Cosmos, Victoria, B.C.
45. F. F. Rouleau, Dorchester, Que.
46. J. Ryan, Marquette, Man.
47. Arthur McQuade, South Victoria, Ont.
48. Hon. Thomas McGreevy, Quebec West, Que.
49. H. Montplaisir, Champlain, Que.
50. Firmin Dugas, Montcalm, Que.
51. E. O. Cuthbert, Berthier, Que.
52. Hon. John Schultz, Lisgar, Man.
53. Hon. P. Mitchell, Northumberland, N.B.
54. E. Cimon, Chicoutimi and Saguenay, Que.
55. F. X. O. Methot, Nicolet, Que.
56. Hon. J. A. Mousseau, Bagot, Que.
57. Hon. J. Bolduc, Beauce, Que.
58. J. P. Lantier, Soulanges, Que.
59. J. M. Currier, City of Ottawa, Ont.
60. Sir Charles Tupper, Cumberland, N.S.
61. Hon. T. Robitaille, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec.
62. John Hillyard Cameron, Cardwell, Ont.
63. H. R. H. Princess Louise.
64. H. M. Queen Victoria.
65. The Marquis of Lorne.
66. Hon. John Beverley Robinson, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario.
67. Sir Georges Cartier, Montreal East, Que.
68. Hon. Edgar Dewdney, Indian Commissioner, Regina, N.W.T.
69. Mrs. Hector Cameron.
70. Miss Cameron.
71. Mrs. Schultz.
72. Lady Macdonald.
73. Mrs. Dewdney.
74. Mrs. Brooks.
75. Mrs. Morton.
76. Lady Caron.

Amongst the notable incidents of the session of 1882, was the passing by a practically unanimous vote of certain resolutions moved by Mr. Costigan, and supported by Mr. Blake in a very elaborate speech of some hours' duration, recommending the British government to grant Home Rule to Ireland. In the senate alone was there a division, when the vote stood thirty-six "yeas" to six "nays." Sir John Macdonald supported the resolutions in a brief, but not very emphatic, speech, in the course of which he characterized Mr. Blake's oratorical effort as "demagogic" and calculated to do much harm. There was a more pronounced antagonism between the two men than there had been between Sir John and Mackenzie. Both were lawyers; both, in their separate ways, were "intellectuals"; and each was probably conscious of a somewhat deeper penetration by the other of the secret weaknesses of his own character than was altogether comfortable. Sir John never delivered *orations*; Mr. Blake did. It would have been a labour for Sir John to "embroider" a theme, to use a French expression, and in point of fact he never attempted it; Mr. Blake on the other hand had great facility in that line and an unbounded copiousness. Just as heartily as Sir John disliked the long speeches of Mr. Blake, did Mr. Blake dislike the short speeches of Sir John. One or two that the latter delivered in England towards the close of the year 1884 gave his adversary matter for criticism in the ensuing session of parliament. Speaking of Canada, Sir John had said that there were no industries materially suffering, and that every industrious man could get a good day's pay for a good day's work—a statement which Mr. Blake did not think warranted by the condition of things in the country, which he asserted was one of general depression. But there was worse. Sir John, impelled by what spirit of mischief there is no guessing, had also said that " any Englishman in coming to Canada, if he was a man of education, invariably joined the Canadian Conservative party, no matter what his home politics may have been." This Mr. Blake took seriously, and declared to be a gross insult to the Liberal party. In the following year the Liberal leader himself went over to England for a visit of some months—as also did Sir John some three months later—and in a speech delivered at a banquet to Lord Rosebery in Edinburgh, made the acknowledgment that " many British emigrants who are Liberals come to Canada, and of these some become Conservatives in Canadian politics." If Sir John took the proverbial ell in the statement he made, here at least was the inch, perhaps a little more, that he was entitled to.

Sir John again had the misfortune to incur the censure of Mr. Blake by some remarks he made a day or two before leaving England in the month of January, 1886. On that occasion he said that Canada was ready to join the mother country in an offensive and defensive league; to risk her last man and her last shilling in defence of the empire and the flag. To this Mr. Blake demurred. He declined to accept responsibility for a policy he had no share in moulding; and if we did not get, and would not take, a voice in shaping the foreign policy of the empire, we should not come under liabilities beyond what our own immediate and direct interest demanded, and should not, he said, be called on to expend our blood and treasure in carrying out jingo schemes, whether of Tory or Liberal politicians, on the other side of the water. These accents have had comparatively recent echoes; but Sir John in his impulsive way, with no excessive refinements of phrase—he was no great master of language—had probably more nearly expressed the instinct of the Canadian people. It is not uninstructive to note what, in a broad sense of the word, may be called the ethical differences between these two great political leaders, each with qualities complementary to those of the other. Had fortune but united their efforts, and made them sympathetic co-workers instead of jealous rivals, it seems certain that the effect on Canadian politics and on the status of Canada to-day would have been very beneficial.

The circumstances under which the elections of 1887 were contested, differed materially from those which had prevailed in 1882. The old issues were still under discussion but new ones had been added.

The second rebellion in the North-West had, as we have seen, been suppressed and its leader Riel had expiated on the scaffold his twice-repeated crime of high treason. Mention has been made of the severe pressure brought to bear upon Sir John Macdonald to stay the sentence of the law, and of his unrelenting firmness in refusing to do so. If there had previously been any division in the cabinet on this painful subject, all trace of it had disappeared when parliament met on February 25th 1886. To appease in some measure racial and religious feeling Mr. Landry, a supporter of the government, moved a resolution affirming "that this House feels it its duty to express its deep regret that the sentence of death passed upon Louis Riel for high treason was allowed to be carried into execution." In the division which followed the "yeas" were fifty-two, the "nays" one hundred and forty-six. The French-Canadian Liberals supported the motion bodily and were joined by seventeen French-Canadian Conservatives. Mr. Blake who, in an earlier discussion, had constructed the famous climax—"Had there been no neglect there would have been no rebellion. If no rebellion, then no arrest. If no arrest, no trial. If no trial, no condemnation. If no condemnation, no execution. They therefore who are responsible for the first are responsible for every link in that fatal chain,"—had later persuaded himself that the death sentence should have been commuted. He accordingly gave his vote for Mr. Landry's motion, and by so doing placed himself in opposition—no doubt most conscientiously—to a number of the weightiest men of his own party, including Alexander Mackenzie, Sir Richard Cartwright, William Paterson and John Charlton.

But beyond parliament there was still the appeal to the country to be faced, and none knew better than Sir John that there the Riel difficulty might meet him again under less controllable conditions. Upon that matter, however, he had taken his stand and could only abide the result. On the other great question of the day, that of protection to home industries, he felt that the country was with him. That was probably his chief dependence, for the forces arrayed against him at this moment, both east and west, were certainly not to be despised.

In Quebec, Mercier was triumphant. Nova Scotia was still restless, and in local politics strongly Liberal. In 1886, Sir Oliver Mowat had suddenly dissolved the Ontario legislature, had won a striking victory, and had thrown all the influence of his rejuvenated government on the side of the federal opposition, whose hopes were now running high. With very many, indeed, hope had matured into absolute certainty, and the most confident predictions of the overthrow of the Conservative government were uttered on the platform, in the press and at the street corners. The Toronto *Globe* took the most serious view of the situation. "The paramount issue," it said (January 18th, 1887), "is not whether Liberals or Conservatives shall administer Canada's affairs for the next five years, but whether the Dominion shall continue in existence. . . . That the break up of the Confederation would ensue from their [the government's] success is as certain as the break up of the winter." The statement indicates the intensity of party feeling rather than true prophetic vision. Though Macdonald won, the Confederation showed no sign of rift. It is noticeable that, in formulating the policy of the Liberal party a short time after the elections, the Toronto organ did not take by any means the same strong ground against the National Policy as it had done in 1882. On the subject of the tariff it said, "It is clearer than ever that a very high scale of taxation must be retained, and that the manufacturers have nothing to fear."

The elections took place on February 22nd. The result may be inferred from the *Globe's* comment, "God help poor Canada!" This time, however, there was a serious diminution in the government's majority, mainly owing to losses in the province of Quebec consequent on the Riel affair. Members of the House had been more amenable to Sir John's influence than their constituents proved to be, and not a few of them paid the penalty of party allegiance by defeat. The first division list showed that the government could count on a majority of twenty-two. A month or two later the *Globe* so far accepted the accomplished fact as to say, "Of course, as self-governing Canadians, we have a constitutional right to make fools of ourselves if we see fit." Mr. Goldwin Smith was quoted about this time as expressing his belief that annexation to the United States was written in the stars.

An interesting incident of the session of 1887, was the adoption, on June 7th, of a jubilee address to the queen. The sentiments which it breathed were those of the most devoted loyalty to the person of the sovereign, of admiration for her character, and of satisfaction with the status of Canada as a self-governing country in vital connection with the British Empire. It was an occasion for oratory on the part of those who had it to give, and Mr. Laurier, who had just succeeded Mr. Blake in the leadership of the Liberal party, was easily the hero of the occasion. If Lord Durham, in the world of shades, could have caught some words of the eulogy pronounced by a French-Canadian upon British institutions and British liberty as enjoyed in Canada fifty years save one after the apparent failure of his mission, it would have amply compensated him for much that he had suffered. Sir John Macdonald, whom nature never designed for efforts of this kind, spoke briefly and not very happily. He said, however, that the "armed resistance of 1837 was due, not to disloyalty to the queen, but to grievances of which the people complained," a declaration which was seized upon by the Liberal journal as a kind of belated confession by a Conservative leader that the Reformers of the past had been in the right and those who opposed them in the wrong. Sir John possibly said a little more than he meant; he had never been a "family compact" man; on the other hand he had stoutly denied that there was any justification for rebellion.

In 1888 a sharp conflict arose between the provincial government of Manitoba and the federal government of the Dominion in reference to the monopoly of transportation enjoyed by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. An important part of the original agreement with that company, and one of the principal inducements which it had to undertake the work, was that no other corporation should have the right to build lines southwards so as to connect with the railway systems of the United States. This was considered a necessary protection against the old and powerful lines within the limits of the States. During the years of agricultural depression, when the low price of wheat coupled with a series of bad harvests left the Western farmer in a very impoverished condition, the people of Manitoba became very restless under the Canadian Pacific monopoly, and attributed a part of their difficulties to the lack of railway competition. The feeling grew so strong throughout the province that the determination was taken to break up this monopoly in defiance of the law. Macdonald's government was placed in an awkward position. On the one side their honour was pledged to the company ; on the other the popular feeling was placing a heavy strain upon federal relations. In conformity with his usual practice, Macdonald found his way out of the difficulty by means of compromise. A considerable loan was made to the Canadian Pacific in return for the abandonment of their legal rights.

We have seen that Macdonald was obliged to face a storm of racial and religious feeling in the province of Quebec when his sense of duty to the Dominion forced upon him the conviction that the law should take its course with regard to Riel. In this case it was Roman Catholic feeling that was aroused and threatened to shatter political alliances and combinations. So, too, it was when the New Brunswick School Bill was believed to take away from Roman Catholics an acquired right in the matter of separate schools, and followers of Macdonald of that faith from all the provinces joined hands in supporting the claims of their New Brunswick co-religionists. But storms as violent he had also to face from a precisely opposite quarter. One of the most noteworthy of these arose in connection with the Jesuits' Estates Act, passed by the provincial legislature of Quebec in 1888, under the inspiration of the

Hon. Honoré Mercier, then premier of that province.

So far back as 1773 the Jesuit order, which held considerable estates in Canada, had been suppressed by the Pope. The property of the order thereupon fell to the Crown, and was applied to purposes of public education in the province. Under the Act of Confederation special provision was made for vesting this property in the provincial government of Quebec, and it thus became subject to the control of the local legislature.

But the Roman Catholic Church had always claimed that the confiscated possessions rightly belonged to it exclusively, and that they should have reverted to the bishops of the various dioceses. When Mr. Mercier, whose political power in Quebec depended largely upon his relations with the Church, incorporated in 1887 the Society of Jesus, that body naturally laid claim to the estates under dispute. To settle the difficulty to the content of all claimants, Mr. Mercier took a bold step. He introduced into the Quebec legislature and passed an Act authorizing the payment of four hundred thousand dollars as compensation for the lands which the Jesuit body had held before the conquest. The voting of a large sum of public money to a religious organization was a step peculiarly calculated to offend the susceptibilities of large sections of the Canadian electorate. The British and Protestant portion of the population of Quebec regarded it as a dangerous encroachment on the resources of the province, evidently designed to strengthen a Church already excessively strong in its great possessions and in the exemption of its property from taxation. The watchful eyes of Protestant Ontario detected in the measure a threat of French and ecclesiastical domination in Canadian politics, while the Orange body was especially indignant at the provision—made an essential part of the Act—that the Pope, as head of the Roman Catholic Church, should determine the method of distributing the money, and that, until His Holiness had done this, the sum granted should be held as a special deposit.

In this remarkable measure there was, manifestly, abundant material for kindling and feeding the fires of religious animosity, and a violent agitation arose, in which press, pulpit and platform each took a vigorous part. The controversy was shifted at once to the political arena by the fact that the only way in which the Act in question could be prevented from becoming law was by its disallowance by the federal government. A small but influential group of Macdonald's followers in parliament, headed by Dalton McCarthy, up to this time one of his most trusted advisers on constitutional measures, combined with a few Ontario Liberals to press on the federal government the policy of disallowance. Great efforts were made to arouse feeling on the question in the provinces outside

Quebec, and especially in Ontario, where the passions stirred up by the murder of Scott, at Fort Garry, in the first rebellion, and later by the agitation to save Riel after the second rebellion, were not yet entirely laid to rest.

The motion favouring disallowance brought forward in parliament by Colonel W. E. O'Brien, illustrates well the kind of task laid upon Macdonald in mediating between conflicting interests and passions. In that motion disallowance of the Jesuits' Estates Act is urged : " Firstly, because it endows from public funds a religious organization, thereby violating the undoubted constitutional principle of the complete separation of Church and State, and of the absolute equality of all denominations before the law. Secondly, because it recognizes the usurpation of a right by a foreign authority, namely, His Holiness the Pope of Rome, to claim that his consent was necessary to empower the provincial legislature to dispose of a portion of the public domain, and also because the Act is made to depend upon the will, and the appropriation of the grant thereby made, as subject to the control of the same authority. And, thirdly, because the endowment of the Society of Jesus, an alien, secret and politico-religious body, the expulsion of which from every Christian community wherein it has had a footing has been rendered necessary by its intolerant and mischievous intermeddling with the functions of civil government, is fraught with danger to the civil and religious liberties of the people of Canada."

Macdonald took his stand upon the strictly constitutional aspect of the question. The control of the Jesuits' Estates, no one could deny, had been handed over to the provincial government ; the province had a right to do what it pleased with its own. However injudicious the method adopted for distributing the public funds of a province ; however irritating to the people of other provinces the conditions attached to such distribution, the exercise of the federal veto would nevertheless be an unwarranted invasion of provincial rights. Even if the people of Quebec should decide to throw any part of the public money into the sea, they had the constitutional right to pursue their course of folly.

These arguments prevailed in parliament, and Colonel O'Brien's motion was defeated by a vote of one hundred and eighty-eight to thirteen. The agitation was continued, however, in the country, and ended, after taking the form of mass meetings at various centres and a convention at Toronto, in the formation of an Equal Rights Association, and later of the Protestant Protective Association, which for some time carried on an anti-Catholic campaign, even more opposed to the growth of a broad Canadian sentiment than was the original action of Mr. Mercier. During all this time Macdonald's influence was steadily employed to allay an inflamed condition of feeling which he no doubt regarded as springing chiefly from bigotry and religious animosity, and as operating against that political consolidation of the Dominion which was the constant object of his efforts.

Meanwhile, other difficulties were accumulating and new dangers had to be faced. Only slowly and painfully did Canada feel its way forwards to a clear understanding of its true place in the world. Conditions were becoming more complicated, new combinations were being formed, new ambitions were stirring, all destined to make themselves felt in the political conflict with which the public career of Macdonald closed, and which must be dealt with in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XIV

THE LAST ELECTION

COMMERCIAL UNION—UNRESTRICTED RECIPROCITY

1891

THE circumstances of the country during the years which preceded the general election of 1891 were in many ways exceedingly favourable to the agitators whose aim was to induce Canadians to adopt the policy of "commercial union" with the United States as a remedy for the business depression under which the country was suffering. The settlement of the North-West had not proceeded with the rapidity that had been anticipated when the transcontinental railway was completed. A succession of bad seasons had had a most discouraging influence on the settlers who had come into the country. The price of agricultural produce was low, and for a long time gave no sign of improvement. The farming population was therefore, for the moment, poor and far from contented. The inflation which had followed on the opening up of the North-West had been succeeded by a period of reaction and extreme depression in Winnipeg and other western centres. The National Policy had, in the east, stimulated production in manufacture before a sufficient market had been created in the west for the goods produced, so that the artisan suffered with the farmer. The renewal of the reciprocity secured by the treaty of 1854, so favourable to Canadian trade, had been, over and over again, refused by the United States. In that country a distinct hostility to Canadian interests had been created after the rejection by the senate of the Chamberlain-Bayard treaty, and the consequent assertion and protection of Canadian rights in the fisheries of the coast. The threat of President Cleveland to abrogate the bonding privilege by way of reprisal for the latter proceeding, accentuated the anxiety of those who doubted Canada's ability to stand up against the commercial dominance of her great competitor on the American continent.

These and many other minor circumstances conspired to strengthen the hands of those who in 1887 and the following years advocated a policy which in practice would have involved the surrender of the country's commercial and fiscal independence as the price to be paid for the full enjoyment of the markets of the continent.

Between 1887 and 1891 a vigorous and sustained campaign was carried on in favour of this policy—at first under the name of "commercial union," and later, as this term became increasingly unpopular, under that of "unrestricted reciprocity." The movement attracted the support of men actuated by widely different motives. Mr. Goldwin Smith, the gloomy prophet of annexation perhaps even more than its advocate, lent the service of his skilful and incisive pen and the prestige of his name to a cause which promised industrial alleviation at the moment, with ultimate realization of his own conception of Canada's inevitable future as a part of the American union. His openly avowed object for the moment was to "bring Canada within the commercial pale of her own continent."

Mr. Erastus Wiman, a Canadian resident in New York, and a man of considerable ability and exceptional energy, brought the resources of wealth, and a business organization which covered the continent, to the promulgation of the ideas of the party which advocated this drastic change in Canadian policy. Many business men, impatient at the prolonged depression of trade, joined the Commercial Union League, which was formed to influence public opinion. Among politicians another factor in the situation should not be left out of the account. It was that of personal discontent, due to the long continuance of Conservative supremacy under the leadership of Macdonald.

While the party system seems, on the whole, to furnish the best machinery yet devised for self-government by free and democratic communities, in operation it is not without serious drawbacks and some dangers. Even in England, the birthplace and home of modern constitutional government, the fierce struggle of parties striving for power has not unfrequently obscured men's regard for the real interest of the State. It is hard at times to reconcile party spirit with patriotism in the acts and utterances even of such a man as Charles James Fox, to mention but a single instance.

Conditions of public life in a new country like Canada exaggerate this evil. Politicians have not the wealth common among the ruling classes in older communities, and so it means more to them to lose office, with its influence, its emoluments, and its opportunities for the distribution of patronage. Parties cling to power desperately, and under skilful management an undesirable régime may maintain its ground for a very long period.

This reacts on the spirit of an Opposition. A party long kept from power and the rewards of office grows bitter and discontented. It is scarcely too much to say that a small section, at least, of the Liberal party, towards the end of Macdonald's career, was in this mood and ready for very doubtful adventures. A few certainly laid themselves open, even among men of their own side of politics, to the suspicion of disloyalty, as that term is understood in Canada.

The keenest advocates of fiscal union with the United States were, however, outside the ranks of political party. The Commercial Union League which was formed for the special advocacy of the scheme had Mr. Goldwin Smith as its president. The movement secured support from the president of the Toronto Board of Trade, and the president of the Council of Farmers' Institutes—circumstances which indicated the possibility of a strong movement in its favour among the trading and farming classes of Ontario.

Two powerful organs of public opinion—the Toronto *Mail* and the *Globe*—one professedly independent and the other strongly Liberal in its traditions, gave active support to the new policy.

On the other side of the national boundary line the movement was encouraged by the introduction into congress by Mr. Butterworth, a member of the House of Representatives, of a bill which proposed to settle all the existing differences between the United States and Canada by the adoption of a zollverein.

Against these various forces a group of vigorous thinkers, partly also outside of politics and influenced mainly by other than party considerations, set its face resolutely, and fought the Commercial Unionists on every platform. Foremost in this group were Principal George M. Grant, Dalton McCarthy, M.P. and Colonel George T. Denison. Their appeal against the new policy was chiefly based on the spirit of national honour and loyalty to British traditions, which they believed would be violated by any system which discriminated against the motherland and tended to make Canada subject, in the first place commercially, and later politically, to an alien people. An established reputation as disinterested men and as sincere and ardent advocates of imperial unity gave the arguments of this group great weight in an electorate long trained in principles of British loyalty, and their speeches went far to bring discredit upon Commercial Union as a popular cry. Meanwhile politicians on both sides watched closely to see whereto the agitation would grow.

In the Liberal party there was divided opinion as to the attitude which should be taken towards the new policy. Subsequent events proved that Mr. Blake, who had lately resigned the Liberal leadership, though publicly silent, was privately suspicious of the whole movement. Mr. Laurier, the newly-elected leader, in one of his earlier speeches in that capacity, while carefully stating the case for Commercial Union with the United States, hesitated about committing himself to it entirely, hinted that it might be "surrounded by insurmountable difficulties," but held that "the time has come to abandon the policy of retaliation followed thus far by the Canadian government, to show the American people that we are brothers, and to hold out our hands to them, with a due regard for the duties we owe to our Mother Country." He, at the same time, expressed his preference for a policy under which "all the nations recognizing the sovereignty of Great Britain would agree to rally together by means of commercial treaties," adding in reference to this, with prophetic vision of his own future efforts: "I consider the idea as good and fair, and such being the case I believe that it will eventually triumph." On the other hand Sir Richard Cartwright, whose authority at that time was great in the Liberal party, openly declared in 1887 for Commercial Union. In a speech delivered at Ingersoll on October 12th of that year, he said: "I am averse as any man can be to annexation or to resign our political independence, but I cannot shut my eyes to the facts. We have greatly misused our advantages. We have been most foolish and most wasteful in our expenditures. We have no means of satisfying the just demands of large portions of the Dominion except through such an arrangement as Commercial Union . . . . There is a risk, and I cannot overlook it. But it is a choice of risks. I say deliberately that the refusal or failure to secure free trade with the United States is much more likely to bring about just such a political crisis as these parties affect to dread than even the closest commercial connection that can be conceived."

An utterance such as this, coming from a man of position in the party, gave colour to the opinion that Commercial Union would be adopted as the Liberal trade policy. The provincial governments of the time were mostly Liberal, and at an interprovincial conference of their representatives held in the autumn of 1887, a resolution in favour of "unrestricted reciprocity" was passed, but coupled significantly with the declaration of "fervent loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen, and warm attachment to British connection," indicating clearly the danger which was anticipated from pressing the question of Commercial Union pure and simple. It is to be noted that a small Conservative minority at this conference, representing Manitoba and New Brunswick, which both suffered severely from restriction of trade with the United States, assented to this resolution.

When parliament met in 1888 it became necessary for the Liberal party to definitely state its policy. At the caucus held for that purpose a large majority was found to be opposed to any scheme which would make the fiscal system of Canada so dependent on that of the United States as it would be under complete Commercial Union, although some members were ready to make even this sacrifice for the sake of the advantages expected to flow from untrammelled trade relations.

The declaration of policy ultimately fixed upon was introduced into parliament as a resolution on March 14th, 1888, by Sir Richard Cartwright. It read as follows: "That it is highly desirable that the largest possible freedom of commercial intercourse should obtain between the Dominion of Canada and the United States, and that it is expedient that all articles manufactured in, or the natural products of either of the said countries, should be admitted free of duty into the ports of the other, articles subject to duties of excise or of internal revenue alone excepted ; and that it is further expedient that the government of the Dominion should take steps at an early date to ascertain on what terms and conditions arrangements can be effected with the United States for the purpose of securing full and unrestricted reciprocity of trade therewith." While the unpopular term "Commercial Union" was rejected in this resolution the substance of the idea was manifestly retained, since it is impossible to conceive a common tariff the terms of which would not be fixed by the predominant partner to the arrangement.

In parliament Macdonald met the issue thus raised by a direct negative. An amendment, approving of the protective policy of the government, was moved to the resolution of Sir Richard Cartwright by the finance minister of the cabinet, the Hon. G. E. Foster, and was carried by a vote of one hundred and twenty-four to sixty-seven. Again in 1889 Sir Richard Cartwright brought forward a modified resolution demanding a reduction of tariffs, and proposing that negotiations with the United States should be "conducted upon the basis of the most extended reciprocal freedom of trade between Canada and the United States in manufactured as well as natural products." This resolution also was voted down in parliament by a large majority.

But the Liberal party was now thoroughly committed to the general policy of unrestricted reciprocity outlined in these resolutions, and its leading speakers and writers devoted their energies during the next two years to the education of the public mind in this direction. They had perhaps been carried further than they intended by the apparent necessity for having some strong and individual line of policy to put before the country.

No reasonable person doubts that the majority of those who argued for closer trade relations with the United States did so with a view to the best interests of Canada and in perfect good faith. But it was unfortunate for the party that, while the policy thus adopted had in it much specious promise of material benefit, it was, as now put forward, opposed to sentiments and prejudices deeply rooted in the Canadian mind, and enlisted support of an exceedingly questionable character.

The extreme advocates of unrestricted reciprocity brought forward arguments and used expressions which offended the powerful sentiment of British nationality, and aroused suspicion of the objects they had in view. So true was this that a genuine belief was created in many minds that there was an organized conspiracy to hand over the country to the United States, and facts were to come to light which strengthened this suspicion.

The parliament of 1887 had yet a year to run when Macdonald, early in 1891, made up his mind that the time had come for an appeal to the electors on the momentous issue which had thus been raised. In many ways the chances of an election would at this time, under ordinary circumstances, have been strongly against him. Even his wonderful political adroitness could not altogether resist the swing of the pendulum, that tendency in free governments to lose strength during any long continuance of power, either by the defection of friends or the multiplication of opponents. Ontario was sore over the government's attitude towards the Jesuits' Estates Bill. Suspicion of corruption was hanging over one at least of his principal colleagues. A struggle going on in the West against the monopoly of transportation enjoyed by the Canadian Pacific Railway reacted unfavourably on the government which had granted the monopoly. The mere desire for change, after so many years of Conservative supremacy, was a force in the constituencies not to be ignored.

But he felt that it would be useless for parliament to meet again until the political atmosphere had been cleared by some definite expression from the constituencies. He perhaps recognized also the desirability of having a question of such far-reaching consequence to the Dominion settled once for all, while his own personal influence and prestige would count in the struggle. His political instincts, long trained to nice perception of the state of public feeling, told him that the time was opportune. He saw that the policy put forward by the Opposition, while it received support from a certain class of thinkers and business men, and for the moment seemed to serve the party purposes of his opponents, was fundamentally opposed to the main drift of Canadian history and Canadian purpose. He was convinced that the Canadian people shared his own fixed belief that greater things were in store for the Dominion than Commercial Union, or union of any other kind with the United States, could give.

The new policy, it was clear, drew support from some who had no sympathy with that devotion to British connection, and that passionate loyalty to the idea of a United Empire, which had played so large a part in Canadian history, and had more than once exercised a decisive influence on the course of events. The cold philosophy of Goldwin Smith, which placed the theory of free trade before national sentiment, was, to say the least, opposed to Canadian traditions. Macdonald on the other hand trusted to the strength of that sentiment to overcome every obstacle that confronted him in the coming contest.

He would not have been true, however, to his own record as a strategist in politics had he not tried to turn his opponents' flank. He had steadily opposed the plan of complete surrender to the American system. But he knew that the demand for improved trade relations with the United States was widespread and in a measure justified. In past times he had himself made every honourable effort to renew the reciprocal arrangement, which, between 1854 and 1866 had proved of so much advantage to both countries. Indeed, he claimed with apparent truth that every improvement in reciprocal trade hitherto made with the neighbouring republic had been obtained by Conservative governments of which he was a member. He now took steps through the medium of the home government, in connection with certain discussions concerning Newfoundland and Canadian fisheries, to approach the government of the United States once more with proposals for considering the various questions in dispute between that country and Canada with a view to an amicable settlement, and especially with the object of extending commercial intercourse between the two countries. How far he entertained hopes of success we have no means of knowing. But he well knew that a government in power striving to get the best terms possible from a commercial rival was more likely to be approved by the electors than an Opposition ready to make wholesale concessions and even risk political integrity.

The Conservative press made the most of this attempt to renew negotiations, and perhaps gave an exaggerated significance to the fact that the question had been re-opened partly at the suggestion of the American secretary of state, in connection with the discussion of fishery questions which concerned both Canada and Newfoundland. The Liberal party, recognizing that active exertion on the part of the government for better trade relations greatly weakened their own exclusive claim to this policy, denounced the new move as a mere electoral stratagem, and the circumstances introduced a new element of bitterness into the struggle.

Parliament was dissolved on February 3rd, and the election was fixed for March 5th. On February 7th, Macdonald issued his last formal appeal to the electors of the Dominion. This address, in which he reviews the work of his party in the development of Canada, criticizes the obstructive policy of his opponents, and finally concentrates attention upon the great issue immediately before the country, furnishes so good an illustration of his twofold character as party leader and national statesman, that even to-day, when the questions which he discusses are dead and buried, much of it may be read with interest. He says to the electors:—

"The momentous questions now engaging public attention having, in the opinion of the ministry, reached that stage when it is desirable that an opportunity should be given to the people of expressing, at the polls, their views thereon, the governor-general has been advised to terminate the existence of the present House of Commons, and to issue writs summoning a new parliament. This advice His Excellency has seen fit to approve, and you, therefore, will be called upon within a short time to elect members to represent you in the great council of the nation. I shall be a candidate for the representation of my old constituency, the city of Kingston.

"In soliciting at your hands a renewal of the confidence which I have enjoyed as a minister of the Crown for thirty years, it is, I think, convenient that I should take advantage of the occasion to define the attitude of the government, in which I am First Minister, towards the leading political issues of the day.

"As in 1878, in 1882, and again in 1887, so in 1891, do questions relating to the trade and commerce of the country occupy a foremost place in the public mind. Our policy in respect thereto is to-day what it has been for the past thirteen years, and is directed by a firm determination to foster and develop the varied resources of the Dominion, by every means in our power consistent with Canada's position as an integral portion of the British Empire. To that end we have laboured in the past, and we propose to continue in the work to which we have applied ourselves, of building up on this continent, under the flag of England, a great and powerful nation.

"When, in 1878, we were called upon to administer the affairs of the Dominion, Canada occupied a position in the eyes of the world very different from that which she enjoys to-day. At that time a profound depression hung like a pall over the whole country, from the Atlantic Ocean to the western limits of the province of Ontario, beyond which to the Rocky Mountains stretched a vast and almost unknown wilderness. Trade was depressed, manufactures languished, and, exposed to ruinous competition, Canadians were fast sinking into the position of being mere 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' for the great nation dwelling to the south of us. We determined to change this unhappy state of things. We felt that Canada, with its agricultural resources, rich in its fisheries, timber, and mineral wealth, was worthy of a nobler position than that of being a slaughter market of the United States. We said to the Americans : 'We are perfectly willing to trade with you on equal terms. We are desirous of having a fair reciprocity treaty, but we will not consent to open our markets to you while yours remain closed to us.' So we inaugurated the National Policy. You all know what followed. Almost as if by magic, the whole face of the country underwent a change. Stagnation and apathy and gloom—ay, and want and misery too—gave place to activity and enterprise and prosperity. The miners of Nova Scotia took courage ; the manufacturing industries in our great centres revived and multiplied ; the farmer found the market for his produce, the artisan and labourer employment at good wages, and all Canada rejoiced under the quickening impulse of a new-found life. The age of deficits was past, and an overflowing treasury gave to the government the means of carrying forward those great works necessary to the realization of our purpose to make this country a homogeneous whole.

"To that end we undertook that stupendous work, the Canadian Pacific Railway. Undeterred by the pessimistic views of our opponents—nay, in spite of their strenuous, and even maligant, opposition—we pushed forward that great enterprise through the wilds north of Lake Superior, across the western prairies, over the Rocky Mountains to the shores of the Pacific, with such inflexible resolution that, in seven years after the assumption of office by the present administration, the dream of our public men was an accomplished fact, and I myself experienced the proud satisfaction of looking back from the steps of my car upon the Rocky Mountains fringing the eastern sky. The Canadian Pacific Railway now extends from ocean to ocean, opening up and developing the country at a marvellous rate, and forming an imperial highway to the East over which the trade of the Indies is destined to reach the markets of Europe. We have subsidized steamship lines on both oceans—to Europe, China, Japan, Australia, and the West Indies. We have spent millions on the extension and improvement of our canal system. We have, by liberal grants of subsidies, promoted the building of railways, now become an absolute necessity, until the whole country is covered as with a network; and we have done all this with such prudence and caution, that our credit in the money market of the world is higher to-day than it has ever been, and the rate of interest on our debt, which is a true measure of the public burdens, is less then it was when we took office in 1878.

"During all this time what has been the attitude of the Reform party? Vacillating in their policy and inconstancy itself as regards their leaders, they have at least been consistent in this particular, that they have uniformly opposed every measure which had for its object the development of our common country. The National Policy was a failure before it had been tried. Under it we could not possibly raise a revenue sufficient for the public requirements. Time exposed that fallacy. Then we were to pay more for the home-manufactured article than we used to when we bought everything abroad. We were to be the prey of rings and monopolies, and the manufacturers were to extort their own prices. When these fears had been proved unfounded, we were assured that over-competition would inevitably prove the ruin of the manufacturing industries, and thus bring about a state of affairs worse than that which the National Policy had been designed to meet. It was the same with the Canadian Pacific Railway. The whole project, according to our opponents, was a chimera. The engineering difficulties were insuperable, the road, even if constructed, would never pay. Well, gentlemen, the project was feasible, the engineering difficulties were overcome, and the road does pay. Disappointed by the failure of all their predictions, and convinced that nothing is to be gained by further opposition on the old lines, the Reform party has taken a new departure, and has announced its policy to be Unrestricted Reciprocity—that is (as defined by its author, Mr. Wiman, in the *North American Review* a few days ago) free-trade with the United States, and a common tariff with the United States against the rest of the world. The adoption of this policy would involve, among other grave evils, discrimination against the mother country. . . . . . . It would, in my opinion, inevitably result in the annexation of this Dominion to the United States."

After discussing the necessity that such a system would create for direct taxation to replace the ordinary revenue derived from import duties, which would be done away with by a system of commercial union, he returns to the vital issue of the election.

"For a century and a half this country has grown and flourished under the protecting ægis of the British Crown. The gallant race who first bore to our shores the blessings of civilization, passed, by an easy transition, from French to English rule, and now form one of the most law-abiding portions of the community. These pioneers were speedily recruited by the advent of a loyal band of British subjects, who gave up everything that men most prize, and were content to begin life anew in the wilderness rather than forego allegiance to their sovereign. To the descendants of these men, and of the multitude of Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen who emigrated to Canada that they might build up new homes without ceasing to be British subjects—to you Canadians I appeal, and I ask you what have you to gain by surrendering that which your fathers held most dear? Under the broad folds of the Union Jack, we enjoy the most ample liberty to govern ourselves as we please, and at the same time we participate in the advantages which flow from association with the mightiest empire the world has ever seen. Not only are we free to manage our domestic concerns, but, practically, we possess the privilege of making our own treaties with foreign countries, and, in our relations with the outside world, we enjoy the prestige inspired by a consciousness of the fact that behind us towers the majesty of England. The question which you will shortly be called upon to determine resolves itself into this: Shall we endanger our possession of the great heritage bequeathed to us by our fathers, and submit ourselves to direct taxation for the privilege of having our tariff fixed at Washington, with a prospect of ultimately becoming a portion of the American union? I commend these issues to your determination, and to the judgment of the whole people of Canada, with an unclouded confidence that you will proclaim to the world your resolve to show yourselves not unworthy of the proud distinction that you enjoy, of being numbered among the most dutiful and loyal subjects of our beloved queen.

" As for myself, my course is clear. A British subject I was born—a British subject I will die. With my utmost effort, with my latest breath, will I oppose the 'veiled treason' which attempts by sordid means and mercenary proffers to lure our people from their allegiance. During my long public service of nearly half a century, I have been true to my country and its best interests, and I appeal with equal confidence to the men who have trusted me in the past, and to the young hope of the country with whom rest its destinies for the future, to give me their united and strenuous aid in this, my last effort, for the unity of the empire and the preservation of our commercial and political freedom."

Over-strained on some points as this address may seem to-day, it yet has in it the ring of reality and sincerity, and it reflects with reasonable accuracy the tension of public feeling at the time. The leader of the Opposition, Mr. Laurier, who must have found himself seriously embarrassed by one wing of his allies, replied with moderation, repudiating as an " unworthy appeal to passion and prejudice " the charge that unrestricted reciprocity was " veiled treason " . . . . " even when it was presented with the great authority of Sir John

Macdonald's name." Sir Oliver Mowat and other prominent Liberals did their best to strengthen their leader's hands by re-affirming, as they had the strongest traditional right to do, their unqualified loyalty to British connection. It was while the judgment of that wavering body of electors which holds the balance between parties was yet in suspense that a new factor was introduced into the discussion.

An extremely able political journalist of the time, Mr. Edward Farrer, who had won distinction by his contributions, especially on economic questions, to other Canadian journals, had lately been transferred to the staff of the leading Liberal organ—the Toronto *Globe*—as its chief editorial writer, and as such was naturally supposed to have intimate relations with the prominent men of the party. Mr. Farrer had convinced himself that annexation to the United States was the inevitable destiny of Canada ; he was in communication, as afterwards appeared, with public men in the neighbouring states on the question, and he had prepared a pamphlet in which he discussed methods by which pressure could be exercised at Washington to force Canadians into political union. Among these methods were an increase of taxation on the products of Canada ; the abolition of the bonding system by which British or foreign goods were imported into the Dominion through American ports ; the imposition of a tonnage tax on Canadian fishing vessels; the cutting of connection between Canadian and American railways at essential points —everything, indeed, which would impress upon Canadians the disadvantage of not being a part of the American system. He claimed that steps such as these, by paralysing the commerce and industry of the Dominion, would compel the electorate to look to political union as the only way of escape from financial ruin. He paid Macdonald the compliment of saying that a time when he was about to leave the stage of public affairs would be a favourable moment for carrying out this coercive policy. "Whatever course," this writer said, "the United States may see fit to adopt, it is plain that Sir John's disappearance from the stage is to be the signal for a movement towards annexation. The enormous debt of the Dominion (fifty dollars per head), the virtual bankruptcy of all the provinces except Ontario, the pressure of the American tariff upon trade and industry, the incurable issue of race, and the action of natural forces making for the consolidation of the lesser country with the greater, have already prepared the minds of most intelligent Canadians for the destiny that awaits them; and a leader will be forthcoming when the hour arrives."

The proof sheets of this pamphlet were, it is said, stolen from the office of the printer, and they found their way into Macdonald's hands. They doubtless furnished the grounds of the reference in his address to "veiled treason." At a great party gathering in Toronto he disclosed, amid much excitement, what he pronounced to be a conspiracy to hand over Canada to the United States. The leaders of the Liberal party vehemently protested against having themselves associated with the opinions expressed in the pamphlet, and the writer himself promptly asserted his sole responsibility for everything that he had written, which was, he declared, merely an expression of his own private views. Nevertheless, the Farrer pamphlet strongly influenced public opinion, and was taken as an indication that the policy of unrestricted reciprocity furnished shelter to elements of disloyalty.

"The old flag, the old man, and the old policy," was the epigrammatic phrase, coined by a journalist of the time, into which the issues of the campaign were concentrated, and this became the Conservative rallying cry. The season at which the election came on was the depth of the Canadian winter. Macdonald was now seventy-five years old, and his friends looked forward with natural anxiety to the strain that the contest would put upon him. He threw himself into the campaign with all the energy of youth, travelling from point to point throughout Ontario, and speaking at times twice or thrice a day to huge audiences at places widely apart. The enthusiasm of his supporters knew no bounds, and far too great demands were made on his powers of endurance. The excitement of the contest was greatly augmented by the disclosures to which reference has been made. Sir Charles Tupper, summoned from his post as high commissioner in England, seconded the efforts of his old chief with great vigour.

The election took place on March 5th and at its close, for the fourth time in succession, Macdonald found himself confirmed in power, with a majority of rather more than thirty. It was not an overwhelming victory—a fact sufficient in itself to show that a large proportion of the electors did not take seriously the charge of treasonable conspiracy made against the Opposition. But that Macdonald's attitude on the question was not simply a party trick, nor yet a mere figment of his imagination, was soon shown in the most unexpected way. Edward Blake, long a member of the Liberal party and for some time its leader, had refused to stand at the election, and rumours had circulated which pointed to profound objection on his part to the policy of his friends. Throughout the campaign he maintained complete silence, but as soon as the election was over he addressed a letter to his old constituents of West Durham, in which he reviewed the situation and explained his own position. While strongly denouncing the protective policy of the government as well as its administration of public affairs, he went on to show that unrestricted reciprocity was practically indistinguishable from commercial union. But he had no illusions as to the result of adopting such a policy. The tendency would be towards political union. Hence his refusal to co-operate with his party. "Whatever you or I may think on that head, whether we like or dislike, believe or disbelieve in political union, must we not agree that the object is one of great moment, towards the practical settlement of which we should take no serious step without reflection, or in ignorance of what we are doing? Assuming that absolute free trade with the States, best described as commercial union, may and ought to come, I believe that it can and should come only as an incident, or at any rate as a well understood precursor of political union, for which indeed we should be able to make better terms before than after the surrender of our commercial independence. Then, so believing—believing that the decision of the trade question involves that of the constitutional issue—for which you are unprepared and with which you do not even conceive yourselves to be dealing—how can I properly recommend you now to decide on commercial union?"

How far the pamphlet of Mr. Farrer and the explanation of Mr. Blake to his constituents, to say nothing of the other speeches and journalistic utterances of the time, justify the attitude of Macdonald during the campaign of 1891, the impartial student of the period may perhaps best be left to decide for himself. Certain it is that in the bye-elections which occurred during the ensuing year, when people had been given time to coolly review all the circumstances, the Conservative majority steadily increased. Macdonald's still more triumphant vindication rests in the fact that, throughout the many years of Liberal sway which have since elapsed, his policy has been perpetuated, and it is Sir Wilfrid Laurier himself who has finally disposed of unrestricted reciprocity by declaring that Canadians will make no more "pilgrimages to Washington" in search of commercial advantages. Political strategist Macdonald may have been, but the searching test of time has proved conclusively that the consummate strategist was also the wise and prescient statesman.

CHAPTER XV

CLOSING DAYS—CONTEMPORARY ESTIMATES —CHARACTERISTICS

THE election of 1891 was the last great effort of a long political career, and the short remainder of Macdonald's life story may be briefly told. The strain of the winter campaign, with all its excitements, was too much for the strength of a man who was now more than seventy-five years old, and who had never known what it was to spare himself when an emergency demanded an extraordinary effort. He had returned to his own constituency of Kingston exhausted by continuous travel and much speaking in Western Ontario. Carried away by the eagerness of his supporters to see and hear him, he consented to attend a final demonstration at Napanee, and there, driving from one heated hall and crowded audience to another, to address an overflow meeting, he received a chill from which he never thoroughly recovered. For a time his strong will and wonderful vitality held him up, and after a few days of complete rest, insisted upon by his physicians at Kingston, he returned to Ottawa in time to record his own vote, and to receive the reports of the election itself.

Most of the time from the day of the election, March 5th, till the day when parliament opened on April 29th, was spent under medical care. The opening of the session, however, found him in his place in the House. He was cheered by the presence of his son, who had just been elected in Manitoba, and now entered the Dominion parliament for the first time. But the characteristic alertness of his step—the brightness of his humour—the cheeriness with which he greeted the devoted followers who had fought under his banner and shared his victory—the energy he showed in trying to fulfil his accustomed social and official duties, were but the last flicker of fires about to go out. Early in May a slight stroke of paralysis, which affected his speech, warned himself and his friends that his physical powers were failing. He recovered sufficiently, however, from his first attack to resume his social duties and return to parliament.

His last appearance in the House of Commons, which he had ruled so long, was on May 22nd, when, in answer to criticism by a member of the Opposition, he took upon himself the full responsibility for having brought Sir Charles Tupper over from London, where he was at the time filling the office of high commissioner, to take part in the electoral struggle. On the following day he gave the last of his many sessional dinners, and seemed in excellent spirits. But increasing weakness and a return of partial paralysis within the next two or three days made him conscious that his time was short.

His secretary and biographer has told in detail of the calm demeanour and quiet dignity which he showed when he realized the gravity of his condition. He insisted on signing at once a document in regard to the disposition of his property, "while" as he said, "there is time." Then he turned to his correspondence and to parliamentary matters, while "neither by voice, look, nor manner did he manifest the slightest disquietude." He continued to interest himself in public business up to May 29th, when a further stroke of paralysis rendered him unconscious. In this condition he lingered for eight days, and on June 6th, 1891, his strenuous life came to a quiet end.

From the moment that the fatal character of his illness was understood, messages of enquiry and sympathy came in on every side—from the queen—from viceroys under whom he had served—from colleagues and friends at a distance with whom he had worked; while, wherever men met together throughout Canada, the impending loss of the country was the absorbing subject of thought and discussion. Parliament was in session when he died; a State funeral was at once ordered, and the Houses adjourned for eight days as a formal expression of the national sorrow. After lying in state in the senate chamber, his body was conveyed with imposing ceremony and with demonstrations of popular respect and affection without previous parallel in Canada, to Kingston, the town where his childhood had been spent, and the constituency which he had represented throughout nearly the whole of his long political career. There, in accordance with his own desire, he was buried beside the grave of his mother, in the Cataraqui cemetery. The emigrant boy of 1820, grown to be a leader of men and the master-builder of a great Dominion, who as a statesman had planned the future of the nation, and as prime minister had often been called "to shape the whispers of a throne," was laid to rest amid the universal sorrow of a people who had come to look upon him as the chief pillar of the State.

A wreath of white roses on his breast as he lay in his coffin, "From Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, in memory of her faithful and devoted servant;" a patent of nobility conferred upon his widow as the Baroness Macdonald of Earnscliffe, were marks bestowed by his sovereign—the one of private regard, the other of official recognition of the unique work which he had accomplished for the good of the empire. A memorial service in Westminster Abbey, the first of its kind held in honour of a colonist; a tablet erected soon after his death in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, were more public and equally fitting indications of the sense of national loss felt in the motherland.

In its mention of the memorial service held at the greatest of all centres of English history, the London *Times* accurately interpreted the significance of the ceremony. "Westminster Abbey yesterday offered a spectacle which is without precedent in the long and varied annals of that venerable building. A congregation, eminently representative of all ranks and classes of Englishmen, from the sovereign downwards, assembled to take part in a solemn service held in memory of Sir John Macdonald, and to testify to the strength and sincerity of the sympathy felt in this country with our fellow-subjects in Canada. Many a great Englishman sleeps within the Abbey, and many a requiem sung within its walls has awakened mournful echoes in the hearts of English-speaking peoples beyond the seas. But this is the first time that a great sorrow, primarily falling upon our fellow-subjects abroad, has awakened in the mother country a sentiment so strong as to demand and receive expression in the ancient church that is consecrated by so many of our proudest associations. Our roll of heroes would be sadly curtailed were we to remove from it the names of those who did their work in foreign lands and laid broad and deep foundations of empire on which self-governing communities have since based the fabric of their liberties. But the great soldiers and administrators, whose reward was sealed and perfected by their final entry into the national Pantheon, have always hitherto been the servants of England, directly responsible to the English people ; and the conscious aim of their work, whatever might be its indirect issues, has been to extend the power and add to the greatness of their fatherland. Sir John Macdonald has primarily laboured for the greatness of Canada, has been the devoted servant of the Canadian people, and has sought at their hands the guerdon of faithful service. It is in the character of a Canadian statesman that he is now honoured and mourned by the people of this country, as they have been wont to honour and mourn men whose lives were given to their own service. Because he was a Canadian statesman, his bones may not mingle with those of our illustrious dead, but the service at the Abbey is the outward sign of a profound conviction that the great Canadian is also a great Englishman, and that his service to the Dominion ranks him with the most distinguished of those who have served the mother country."

Throughout Canada the intense popular feeling found general and spontaneous expression in many forms ; in elaborate tributes from the press of all political shades of thought ; in addresses of condolence to Lady Macdonald from almost every corporation of importance in the country ; in sermons and speeches dealing with the great leader's work ; in movements to perpetuate his memory by statues or portraits in the principal cities of the Dominion. Though the echoes of a fiercely contested election were still in men's ears when he died, criticism seemed hushed and faults forgotten in the prevailing sense of public loss. He had applied to himself the thought that to him "much had been forgiven, because he loved much." It was now made clear that he had in this rightly interpreted the final judgment of his countrymen on his public career. They had not merely forgiven; they returned him love for love.

Macdonald was not a man who had many confidants, or who was effusive in his friendships, yet there were thousands to whom his death brought a sense of keen personal loss. Devotion to the service of his country and innate human sympathy were repaid by the devotion of others to himself. To one who reads the records of the time, nothing seems more striking than the strong note of personal affection which runs through much that was said of him.

The things that are said of a man soon after his death are not always the best helps for forming an accurate judgment of his real worth. But there is reason to think that Macdonald's case furnishes an exception to the rule. The conflict from which he had just emerged—the heat of party passion which had been evoked—the hard blows given and received—the consciousness that every expression would be closely scrutinized by an interested public—created a situation in which men felt bound to measure their words and judgments with peculiar care.

Sir Hector Langevin, to whose lot as senior member of the government it fell to announce to parliament the death of his leader, broke down entirely under his strong emotion, and was unable to proceed. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's speech on the occasion was a generous appreciation of his great opponent, while its phrases, though carefully weighed, bore none the less the stamp of a deep sincerity. Addressing the House after Sir Hector Langevin he said among other things : " I fully realize the emotion which chokes the honourable gentleman. His silence, under the circumstances, is far more eloquent than any human language can be. I fully appreciate the intensity of the grief which fills the souls of all those who were the friends and followers of Sir John Macdonald, at the loss of the great leader whose whole life has been so closely identified with their party, a party upon which he has thrown such brilliancy and lustre. We on this side of the House, who were his opponents, who did not believe in his policy, nor in his methods of government—we take our full share of their grief—for the loss which they deplore to-day is far and away beyond and above the ordinary compass of party range. It is in every respect a great national loss, for he is no more who was, in many respects, Canada's most illustrious son, and in every sense Canada's foremost citizen and statesman. . . . . . .

" The place of Sir John Macdonald in this country was so large and so absorbing that it is almost impossible to conceive that the political life of this country, the fate of this country, can continue without him. His loss overwhelms us. For my part, I say with all truth his loss overwhelms me, and it also overwhelms this parliament, as if indeed one of the institutions of the land had given way. Sir John Macdonald now belongs to the ages, and it can be said with certainty that the career which has just been closed is one of the most remarkable careers of this century. It would be premature at this time to attempt to fix or anticipate what will be the final judgment of history upon him ; but there were in his career and in his life features so prominent and so conspicuous, that already they shine with a glow which time cannot alter, which even now appear before the eye, such as they will appear to the end in history. I think it can be asserted that, for the supreme art of governing men, Sir John Macdonald was gifted as few men in any land or in any age were gifted—gifted with the highest of all qualities, qualities which would have made him famous wherever exercised, and which would have shone all the more conspicuously the larger the theatre. The fact that he could congregate together elements the most heterogeneous and blend them into one compact party, and to the end of his life keep them steadily under his hand, is perhaps altogether unprecedented. The fact that during all those years he retained unimpaired not only the confidence, but the devotion—the ardent devotion—and affection of his party, is evidence that, besides those higher qualities of statesmanship to which we were daily witnesses, he was also endowed with those inner, subtle, undefinable graces of soul which win and keep the hearts of men.

"As to his statesmanship, it is written in the history of Canada. It may be said without any exaggeration whatever, that the life of Sir John Macdonald, from the date he entered parliament, is the history of Canada, for he was connected and associated with all the events, all the facts which brought Canada from the position it then occupied—the position of two small provinces, having nothing in common but their common allegiance, united by a bond of paper, and united by nothing else—to the present state of development which Canada has reached. Although my political views compel me to say that, in my judgment, his actions were not always the best that could have been taken in the interest of Canada, although my conscience compels me to say that of late he has imputed to his opponents motives which I must say in my heart he has misconceived, yet I am only too glad here to sink these differences, and to remember only the great services he has performed for our country—to remember that his actions always displayed great originality of view, unbounded fertility of resource, a high level of intellectual conception, and, above all, a far-reaching vision beyond the event of the day, and still higher, permeating the whole, a broad patriotism—a devotion to Canada's welfare, Canada's advancement, and Canada's glory."

The late Principal Grant, his ardent supporter in the great lines of policy by which Canada was consolidated, his unflinching opponent in lesser matters where the upholder of the moral law and the political leader could not see eye to eye, summed up his final view of Macdonald's character and career in a few weighty words: "Though dead, the ideas that inspired him live. He believed that there was room on the continent of America for at least two nations, and he was determined that Canada should be a nation. He believed in the superiority of the British constitution to any other for free men, and that the preservation of the union with the mother country was necessary to the making of Canada. He had faith in the French race, and believed that a good understanding between French and English people was essential to the national welfare. The people followed him, not only as a leader but as an actual embodiment of those fundamental ideas. . . . To the doing of his work he brought great qualities, and all were laid unreservedly on the altar of his country. The combination of imaginative power and insight, with a just appreciation of the necessities of the present, made him a statesman. In virtue of a quick judgment and extraordinary grasp of detail, he was a supreme man of affairs. Those who knew him best, knew him also to be essentially just, humane and God-fearing. He loved power, but the people believed that he sought it that he might minister to the country and not to himself. Canadians will not let the memory of this great man die."

There was truth in the description of him given in *Blackwood* at the time of his death as " one of the greatest of the Conservative forces in the colonial empire."

It was as impossible to question his loyalty to Canada as it was to question his loyalty to the empire. The unique lesson of his life rests in the proof which it furnishes that these two loyalties are not incompatible. To those who watch closely the processes of national development, it seems as if two special dangers threaten the British Empire. One arises from the limited view of a considerable class of public men in Britain, at the centre of imperial influence, it is true, and yet essentially provincial in thought and experience, who fail to grasp what the expansion of the empire means, and find it difficult to look beyond the borders of the United Kingdom in their consideration of national questions. To such men the prospect of national disintegration presents no anxieties, and seems a thing rather to be welcomed than otherwise. The other danger comes from the equally limited vision of many in the colonies who, in questions of difficulty, unduly press the local point of view without considering the necessities of the empire as a whole. Both groups of thinkers fail to see that unity of national purpose and action is for British people the essential condition of national greatness and national safety. Between these two types of men Macdonald stands as an example of the statesmanship to which the nation must look in the future. Even his opponents admitted the truth of his boast, modestly but emphatically made at the gloomiest crisis of his public life, that " there does not exist in Canada a man who has given more of his time —more of his heart—more of his wealth—or more of his intellect and power, such as they may be, for the good of the Dominion of Canada."

Yet it was the same man who had thus devoted his life and powers to the service of Canada who could say to his fellow-Canadians in his last appeal for their political support : " A British subject I was born—a British subject I will die. With my utmost effort, with my latest breath, will I oppose the ' veiled treason ' which attempts by sordid means and mercenary proffers to lure our people from their allegiance."

A successor in the premiership of the Dominion, Sir John Thompson, when unveiling Macdonald's statue at Hamilton said : " Addressing the vast assemblage which is here to see that statue unveiled, I beseech that you will learn by looking upon that figure the lessons which he whom it represents desired that his countrymen should learn and practise; devotion to the interest of Canada, our country, and the determination that the banner of England shall continue to wave over this country as long as time shall last."

In like manner it was as a Conservative force in the empire that he chiefly appealed to the statesmen of England. This was the dominant note in the noble tribute paid to him by Lord Rosebery, then secretary of state for foreign affairs, when unveiling the bust erected to his memory in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral the year after his death.

"We are gradually collecting," he said, "within this cathedral the *Lares* and the *Penates*—the household gods—of our commonwealth. Up above there sleep Wellington and Nelson, those lords of war who preserved the empire; below here we have effigies of Dalley and Macdonald, who did so much to preserve it. We have not, indeed, their bodies. They rest more fitly in the regions where they lived and laboured; but here to-day we consecrate their memory and their example. We know nothing of party politics in Canada on this occasion. We recognize only this, that Sir John Macdonald had grasped the central idea, that the British Empire is the greatest secular agency for good now known to mankind; that that was the secret of his success, and that he determined to die under it, and strove that Canada should live under it. It is a custom, I have heard, in the German army that, when new colours are presented to a regiment, the German

Emperor first, and then his princes and chiefs in their order, each drive a nail into the staff. I have sometimes been reminded of this practice in connection with the banner of our empire. Elizabeth and her heroes first drove their nails in, and so onward through the expansive eighteenth century, when our flag flashed everywhere, down to our own times, when we have not quailed nor shrunk. Yesterday it wrapped the corpse of Tennyson ; to-day we drive one more nail in on behalf of Sir John Macdonald. This standard, so richly studded, imposes on us, the survivors, a solemn obligation. It would be nothing were it the mere symbol of violence and rapine, or even of conquest. It is what it is because it represents everywhere peace and civilization and commerce, the negation of narrowness, and the gospel of humanity. Let us then, to-day, by the shrine of this signal statesman, once more remember our responsibility, and renew the resolution that, come what may, we will not flinch or fail under it."

To form a complete estimate, at once just and impartial, of a career so varied, a character so many-sided, and a mind so versatile, as those of Sir John Macdonald is no easy task, and a biographer is therefore glad to call in the aid of such deliberately expressed opinions of contemporary men of weight as those which have been given. For the rest, one would willingly and perhaps with advantage leave the individual reader to judge for himself from a study of the facts. But, as we survey this long and chequered career, a few salient features of character or conduct unfold themselves so clearly that they may be spoken of with some degree of confidence.

Whatever other faults Macdonald may have had, he was no hypocrite. He made no pretence of a superhuman virtue in carrying on his work of governing Canada. He always said that it was an exceedingly difficult task, and he freely acknowledged the fact that he was sometimes reduced to great straits, and was compelled to do things that he would rather have left undone, while feeling bound to do the best he could with the material that came to his hand. So he shut his eyes at times to doubtful things rather than lose a useful colleague ; he condoned serious shortcomings in faithful followers, and helped to shield them when attacked ; he gratified vanities in weak men if by doing so he could gain support for large ends. He studied alike the strength and foibles of men and turned both, with consummate dexterity, towards the accomplishment of his large purposes. But these sins are as old as politics. Are we to blame the leader or the conditions of public life—themselves a reflex of the average tone of society—which force the hands of the leader ? A man with large patriotic plans in his mind finds his purposes thwarted or delayed by men whom he must either break or bend. Shall he adapt his methods to the human nature with which he has to deal, or give up the plans ? For the moral idealist, confident in the ultimate triumph of right, and counting, in his large way, a thousand years but as one day, there is but one answer. For the practical politician, whose concern is with the interests of to-day or to-morrow, the answer often seems nearly as ambiguous as the response of an ancient oracle. In that ambiguity Macdonald found latitude for a wide range of action. The arts of the politician were ingrained in his very nature and habits of thought as the natural result of long years spent amid the intrigues of provincial politics. To some it even seemed as if the skilful playing of the political game and the out-manœuvring of an opponent gave him as much satisfaction as did success in gaining the end to which all this was subsidiary.

So, like many another nation builder, he must be pronounced lacking in that delicate scrupulousness which shrinks from using unworthy men and unworthy means for the accomplishment even of great purposes. What opponents branded as political immorality, his apologists considered the necessary concessions of a strong leader to the temper and conditions of the time in which he lived and the weakness of the instruments with which he had to deal. There were those who conscientiously believed that, considering the imperfect development of public opinion in Canada in his time, the methods which he employed were the only ones which could have accomplished the great ends he had in view. Whether any end is worth gaining at such a price is a point upon which opinions will differ. There is reason to think that some of his political methods have, by their very success, left a stamp upon Canadian public life as undesirable as it has proved hard to efface. During his long tenure of power a tradition gradually sprung up that these methods were the only ones by which Canada could be governed. Certain it is that men who climbed into power by denouncing them have silently yielded to the persuasion of that tradition, and have gained and held power by similar means carried out on a larger scale and with more cunningly devised machinery. No honest Canadian, Conservative or Reformer, who knows how elections are conducted, will deny these things. Nor is it likely to be otherwise so long as individuals or communities put themselves up for sale. The temptation to buy is too great for ordinary human resistance. The only complete remedy is in the hands of the electors themselves.

One form of what might be called political corruption has long been used by Canadian politicians and accepted by Canadian constituencies as a more or less justifiable weapon of party struggle. In opening up a vast country like the Dominion the construction of public works on a great scale necessarily falls upon the shoulders of government. The demand for assistance to railways, canals, bridges, harbour equipment, public buildings, and so on, is always far in advance of the means at the command of an administration. A selection has to be made, and that selection lies in the hands of the party in power. That the selection should be made to favour friends seems to many as natural as the distribution of offices and appointments among political supporters. Thus men, who in their individual capacity would scorn a bribe, will in a collective capacity with little compunction give their votes in return for promised expenditure upon a railway or other public work, salving their conscience, perhaps, with the general argument of public utility.

In a closely contested election, such influences have so often proved decisive that they probably account in no slight degree for the prolonged continuance in office of any Canadian government which has once grasped the reins of power. This influence was used freely by Macdonald and his colleagues, as it has been freely used by their Liberal successors in office.

Are we to throw all the blame upon the men who manipulate the constituency, or shall we equally blame the constituency which lends itself wittingly and willingly, nay, eagerly, to manipulation? In these matters, to apologize for Macdonald is to arraign the general condition of Canadian politics. In all his earlier and later struggles the use of money—of patronage in public offices—the indirect subsidizing of the party press by means of government printing and advertising—the diversion of support to public works in such a way as to strengthen at needful points the party in power, were all accepted, tacitly or openly, as counters in the political game. The fact that each party tried to conceal the worst features of what it thus did and to make its opponents appear the more corrupt, may be regarded as a tribute to the general soundness of the Canadian electorate, or at least, of its professed principles. But the fact that each party found it necessary to use such means, proves the existence of an element in the constituencies ready to be swayed by corrupt considerations.

It is doubtful whether it can honestly be said that Macdonald ever vigorously used his great influence to combat this evil, or even thought the contest was one that he was called upon to wage. A statesman of higher ideals might have done so. He accepted men at their own valuation and the world as he found it. But it was admitted on all hands that, if he was ready to offer corrupt inducements to others, he remained incorrupt himself. "These hands are clean," he said, with dramatic earnestness after the Pacific Scandal, and his protestation was believed by the Canadian people so far as any suspicion was concerned that he had made mean gains or been actuated by petty personal motives in what he had done.

But if he was not so much of a political idealist as his best friends would have wished him to be, or as posterity would prefer that he had been, the special virtues which he did possess were such as appealed very strongly to ordinary human nature. A life of party struggle such as his could scarcely be entirely free from bitter animosities. But as a rule, and especially throughout his later life, his good humour and kindliness were well-nigh invincible. The sunshine of his friendly nature shone on opponents as well as on supporters. He had a natural inclination to the use of those arts which so often control men's heads by influencing their hearts. Young members entering parliament were captivated by the friendly notice which, coming from a great leader, was in itself a subtle flattery. He was always ready to relieve the weariness of a long sitting or a dry debate by a joke—not always brilliantly witty, but at least spontaneous, and indicative of high spirits and intellectual readiness, and always gaining something from the manner of its delivery. The ponderous arguments of opponents in deadly earnest were often countered by an epigram or story, which, passing from mouth to mouth, and caught up by the press, seemed as effective, politically, as a reasoned reply, and with the public at large was often more so. An admirer has compiled a volume of anecdote and repartee[1] culled from newspaper reports of his speeches, from the pages of Hansard, or from the personal recollections of friends. The natural kindness of Macdonald's heart is illustrated by this collection even more than the readiness or keenness of his wit. Retorts made even in the heat of party debate are singularly free from the sting which leaves behind the sense of pain.

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[1] Biggar's *Anecdotal Biography of Sir John Macdonald.*

I have said that he was no hypocrite. Even his own personal shortcomings he was wont to refer to with humorous frankness. On one occasion in the earlier stages of his career when he had been violently attacked in the columns of the *Globe* by his chief political opponent for some lapse into intemperance, his only rejoinder was to tell a large gathering of electors that, granting the truth of all that had been said, he knew that they would any day prefer "John A. drunk to George Brown sober." The story was current, too, that when D'Arcy McGee first joined his government Macdonald solemnly warned him that he (McGee) must reform his habits, since "no cabinet could afford to carry two drunkards."

In a somewhat similar vein he would at times refer to demands which he occasionally made upon his followers to support doubtful proceedings which in some way stood related to party interests. The late Principal Grant, the head of Queen's University, was one of his strongest and most ardent supporters in the Confederation of Canada, in his railway policy, and in other great measures. But there came a time when with all the good-will in the world he could not continue his support. "How I wish," Sir John said to him one day at a social gathering, "that you would be a steady friend of mine." "But, Sir John, I have always supported you when I felt you were right." "My dear man," said the premier, with a friendly touch and a humorous twinkle of the eye, "I have no use for that species of friendship."

He was not an orator in the ordinary acceptation of that term. Few purple patches can be found among his speeches ; few passages either smell of of the lamp or smack of the school ; very few lend themselves to striking quotation. In beginning to speak, his manner was usually marked by a certain hesitation ; facility of expression set in with the full tide of thought. He often repeats himself —a fault from the literary point of view—inevitable in a speech not carefully prepared, but often a strength in appealing to the average audience which requires time to grasp an idea, and is glad to survey it at leisure and from slightly varying angles. But as a parliamentary debater he was extraordinarily effective, especially in his later years, when he had learned the art of self-control, and when unrivalled experience gave weight and prestige to all he said. His strength lay in getting at the heart of the matter under discussion. His thought is always of carrying his point—not of winning applause or impressing posterity. If he paid comparatively little attention to the form of his parliamentary speeches, full atonement was made by the careful thought given to the matter. His keen intellect grasped what was essential ; and the plain common sense which stamped his views carried more conviction with it than finished oratory could have done. Some of his more important speeches—notably that in which he moved in the legislature the resolutions which led up to Confederation, as also that in which he explained and defended the Washington Treaty in 1872, are models of clear arrangement and convincing exposition. His nearest approaches to eloquence are in passages inspired by patriotism. By nothing else was his imagination so touched as by the thought of his own country growing in greatness and dignity ; of an empire gaining new strength and honour from the upspringing of daughter nations.

Macdonald has left it on record that in the year after the general election of 1878, when in London with Sir Leonard Tilley and Sir Charles Tupper, they made a formal proposition to the British government of reciprocal trade on preferential terms. He had at that time private as well as official intercourse with Lord Beaconsfield, and the Right Hon. W. H. Smith, then leader of the House of Commons, and there is reason to think, from the correspondence that took place between him and those two statesmen, that had their government been supported in the election that came in the same year, Macdonald's views might have received practical consideration. The defeat of the Beaconsfield administration and the return of Mr. Gladstone to power destroyed any hopes of immediate action that Macdonald may have entertained. But he returned to the question again and again as opportunity offered. To the movement inaugurated by the Right Hon. W. E. Forster and others in favour of imperial federation, he gave a cordial support so far as the general principle was concerned. While he had doubts about the possibility of working out the complete parliamentary federation of the empire, he was a firm believer in an ever strengthening union for trade, defence, and coöperation in questions of national policy. A material bond of mutual advantage in the exchange of products between the motherland and the colonies seemed to him a necessary supplement to the bond of sentiment, and in the last year of his life he mentions in a letter to a friend his intention to renew the formal offer of 1878, in case Lord Salisbury succeeded in the general election. It is an interesting fact that, at about the very time when Macdonald was stricken down by his last illness, another great empire builder, Cecil Rhodes, inditing to him a letter of congratulation on his recent electoral success, was suggesting, as he also did to Sir Henry Parkes in Australia, a united effort to bring about a system of preferential trade within the empire. That letter Macdonald never saw, but it was one with which he would have strongly sympathized, as many of his speeches clearly show. Indeed, through all his public speeches and all his legislation there is to be constantly discerned the central principle of his political faith that the supreme interest of Canada and the supreme interest of the empire are one. In that faith he began, and in that faith he ended, his political career.

He kept in close touch with imperial politics, and with many of the leading minds of the motherland. No doubt the intimate personal relations into which he was necessarily brought, as cabinet minister and premier, with the succession of distinguished public men who filled the post of governor-general during his time, had much to do with his political education and the remarkable grasp which he obtained of the broad principles of government.

He keenly enjoyed his many visits to England on public business, and the opportunity they furnished for discussion with the rulers of the empire. We are justified in believing that in range of national vision he was on the level with the best.

He was made a K.C.B. on the consummation of Confederation in 1867 ; was summoned to the Privy Council after the Washington Treaty in 1870, though not sworn in till seven years later ; and in 1884 he received, on the recommendation of Mr. Gladstone, the Grand Cross of the Bath. But the imperial honours thus bestowed upon him in recognition of imperial service, were, after all, merely ratifications of Canadian judgment of his merits. This was equally true of the peerage conferred upon his widow after his death.

The conditions under which he won his way to commanding place and power are sufficiently striking. None of the adventitious circumstances which in older countries usually smooth the path of the rising statesman, were in his favour. From boyhood he was compelled to earn his own living and that of others. He had no influential family connection to give him support, nor any of that early educative association with the representatives of fixed political tradition which so commonly moulds the principles and gives consistency to the course of public men in the motherland. His political judgment had to be formed in reliance upon his own observation and common sense; his political philosophy by self-directed study. He was not endowed with those compelling powers of oratory which captivate the multitude, nor had university training given finish to his natural ability. His earlier political alliance was with the least popular party in the State, so that the weight of public sentiment as well as the political majority of his own province were often opposed to him.

That, notwithstanding these circumstances, usually regarded as obstacles, he worked steadily forward through so long a term of public life indicates the possession of exceptional qualities. They were qualities which appealed to widely different classes of people. The plodding farmer of Ontario and the plain fisherman or lumberman of the Maritime Provinces recognized in him that common sense in practical affairs which they most value and esteem. The light-hearted Frenchman of Quebec enjoyed his geniality and wit, and on points of national sensitiveness trusted in the sincerity of his sympathy. The strongest among his Canadian contemporaries cheerfully accepted him as their leader. A succession of governors-general, drawn from the highest ranks of English public life, pronounced him one of the ablest men with whom they had ever been called upon to deal.

There is therefore cumulative evidence that he possessed that combination of qualities which, here and there, among the masses of mankind, stamps an individual as an appointed ruler of men. Few statesmen have had more severe tests applied to their capacity for rule. In carrying out the necessary task of reconciling jealousies, not to say animosities, of race he must have had many a moment of great anxiety.

A large parliamentary group which on certain questions votes and acts independently of the motives which actuate the general policy of a party, must always be embarrassing to a party leader. In matters connected with the Church and education this is generally true of the French-Canadian, who for the most part feels bound in these things to take direction from his spiritual advisers, themselves nothing loath to push their influence in the field of politics. On the other hand, to a large part of the English-speaking population of Canada, trained in an entirely different school of thought, the exercise of such ecclesiastical influence is well-nigh anathema.

In Canada, again, the evils of a violent party press have at times been greatly aggravated by difference of language. In the early days of Confederation the French journals of Quebec had few readers in the English provinces ; outside the cities, the French-Canadian never read the papers of Ontario or the Maritime Provinces, and inside the cities very seldom. The circumstances furnished an unrivalled field for the reckless and irresponsible agitator. Translations, garbled or divorced from their context, often presented to the voters of one race false ideas of the acts or opinions of their fellow-citizens in another province. Skill, tact and patience of no ordinary kind were required to allay the whirlwinds of feeling thus originated, which swept over the provinces from time to time. No mere skill, however—nothing but a genuine understanding of and sympathy with the French character—could have done what Macdonald did in the management of Quebec. He appreciated the solid virtues which dwell in the *habitant* and had a large tolerance for his peculiarities. He recognized his inherited impulsiveness and made due allowance for it. But brought up among people of Scottish descent he understood the Puritan temper as well, though perhaps less in sympathy with it. In his early years he had himself joined the Orange body, and, though the connection did not continue, he understood the spirit of the organization. Between conflicting races and temperaments he acted not only as a buffer, breaking the force of collision, but also, to no small extent, as reconciler and peacemaker.

It was those who best knew the difficulties with which he had to deal, who most fully appreciated in this respect the work which he did. Speaking of Macdonald in 1881, Lord Dufferin, who was governor-general at the time of his overthrow in 1873, said :—

" I am inclined to think that what bears most conclusive testimony to his extraordinary talents has been the even tenor with which Canada has pursued her successful way during recent years, the absence of all serious complications from her history, and the freedom from all anxiety on her account which we have enjoyed during the last half century, notwithstanding the peculiar delicacy of her geographical position and the ethnological diversity of her population, with the conflicting interests it naturally engenders. What might have happened had the affairs of our great dependency been directed by a less cautious and less skilful or a less patriotic pilot, those only who are well acquainted with the intricacies of Canadian political problems can adequately appreciate."

Throughout the whole course of his official life Macdonald was a poor man. His case is not exceptional. It has been a common lot of the largest figures in the public life of Canada. A new country has no large class of men with fixed wealth and hereditary position, such as exists in older lands, to be drawn upon for public service performed merely as a matter of public duty, or for the honours which it brings. Even if such a class did exist the democratic spirit of the people does not favour the absorption of political power by the wealthy alone. The public life of Canada has been largely recruited from the ranks of professional, commercial or industrial ability. But in this, as in other things, it is impossible to serve two masters. The business of a professional or commercial man must suffer when he gives his time and best thought to the service of the public. This difficulty is accentuated in Canada, as compared with England, by the vast size of the country, which compels the man who devotes himself to parliamentary life to remain for months together far removed from his business interests. The result is that political success has usually gone hand in hand with narrowness of private means. The circumstance that nearly all of Canada's premiers have so far been poor men is, from more than one point of view, an honour to the country and the men—to the country which gives an equality of opportunity to merit irrespective of fortune—to the men, no one of whom has used his position as a means of enriching himself. Nor is the fact without its gains to balance manifest disadvantages. The poor man is, indeed, in a less independent position as regards the retention of place and power than one whose wealth makes him indifferent personally to the vicissitudes of politics. On the other hand public men drawn chiefly from a wealthy class can scarcely hope to have an intimate sympathy with the ordinary life of the people, or a full understanding of its conditions. Macdonald had both in a degree that he could never have attained save in that hard school of experience in which his early life was passed. His youth had made him familiar with the lot of the poor; and fortunately these early struggles never made him greedy of wealth.

In one sense he might be considered, at least in his later years, as a professional politician, but no man ever took part in public life who thought less of the material advantages which are supposed to furnish the motive of that type of man. For the service of his country he gave up professional success, which was easily within his grasp, and he put aside, more than once, judicial appointments which would have given him freedom from financial care. His indifference to money for its own sake—his carelessness, indeed, about money in the management of his private resources, were well known. It was only the accident of complete prostration by illness in 1870 that revealed to his friends the fact that the man who had for so many years been giving all the best that was in him to the service of his country was practically penniless, and had made no provision for his family. A sum of about seventy thousand dollars was raised by his friends at the time, but it was wisely placed in the hands of trustees to manage for the benefit of those he might leave behind. To a man of this temper people were ready to forgive that love of power which he never disclaimed.

In nearly all the large towns of Canada statues have been erected to transmit to posterity the figure and the fame of the great premier. They are tributes of admiration from a people, sections of whom often differed widely from the public policy of the politician, but who were united in sincere regard and affection for the man and the patriot. Before his death he had become the " Grand Old Man " of Canadian public life. His long experience in public affairs ; his unrivalled knowledge of the conditions with which he had to deal ; his unequalled skill in manipulating the various factors in the political problem ; his freedom from fanaticism ; his high sense of courtesy in political life ; his enthusiastic faith in the future of Canada ; his consistent loyalty to the great imperial idea, all combined to make him stand out among his fellows as by far the most conspicuous and influential man in the Dominion.

Slowly, through more than three centuries of difficulty, conflict and doubt, from painful but picturesque beginnings, the history of Canada has gradually unfolded itself, until there has emerged a nationhood of distinct type, the resultant of many contrasted and often conflicting forces. The romantic daring of the early pioneers in war and commerce ; the dauntless courage of the Roman Catholic missionary ; the Frenchman's loyalty to creed, race and language ; the Puritan zeal for spiritual independence ; the mingled love of liberty and devotion to noble tradition which stamped the United Empire Loyalist ; the opposing passion of the two more virile and dominant races of the last centuries—Celt and Saxon ; these and many other streams of influence have gone to mould Canadian institutions and Canadian character. As a net result of all, the present of the Dominion has become a pride, its future an inspiration, to all its sons. The man who drew together all these complicated threads, who welded the northern half of the North American continent into a united whole, who held it true to its British relationship while retaining an individuality all its own, will always live in the grateful memory not only of his own Canadian people, but of the British race.

And if against the greatness of the man history must set the shortcomings which he himself so candidly admitted, Canadians who are just, and who know the conditions, political and moral, under which their great leader wrought out his life work, will not leave him to bear alone the burden of blame.

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The biographies of his contemporaries in this series should also be read, and the bibliography consulted.

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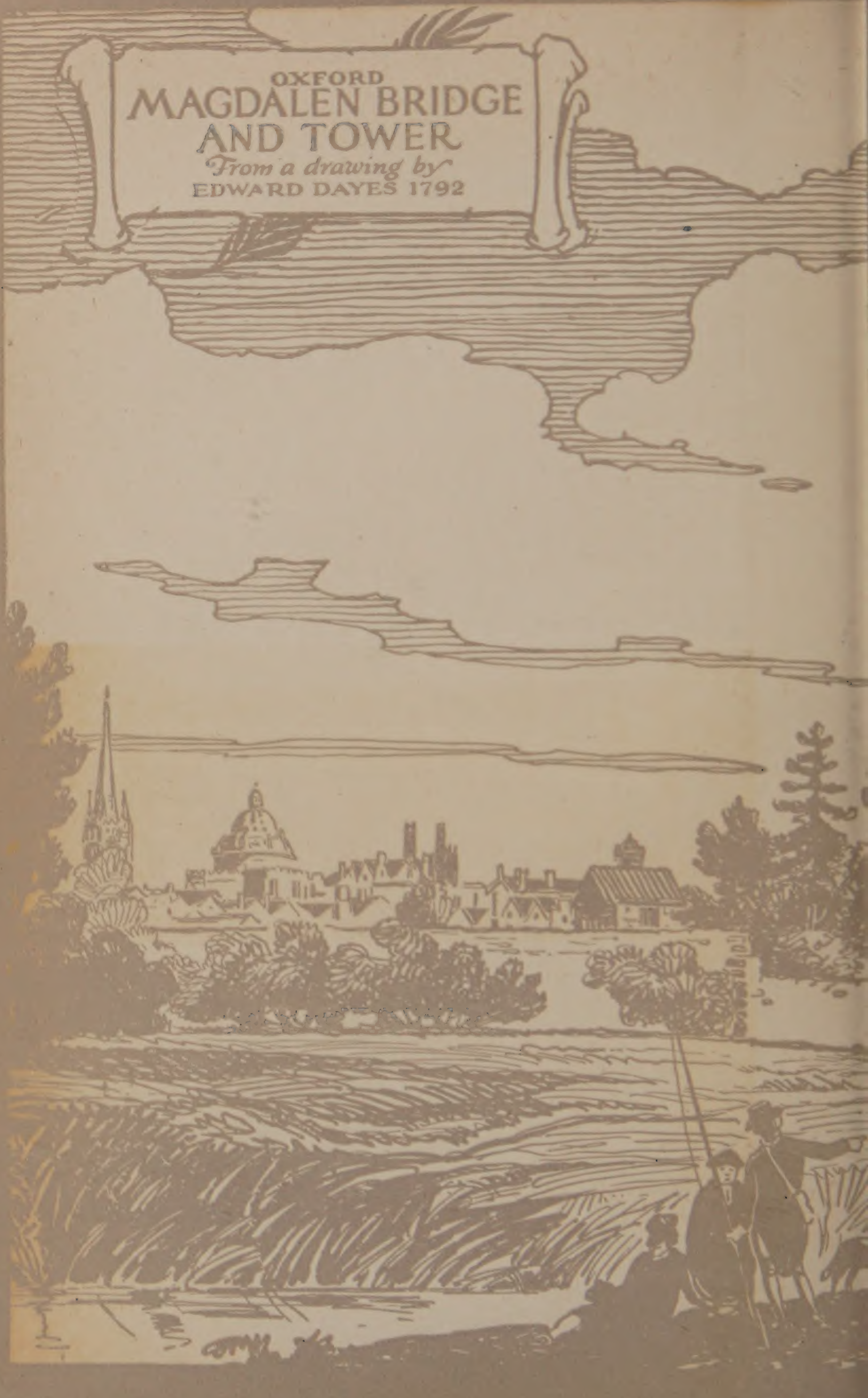

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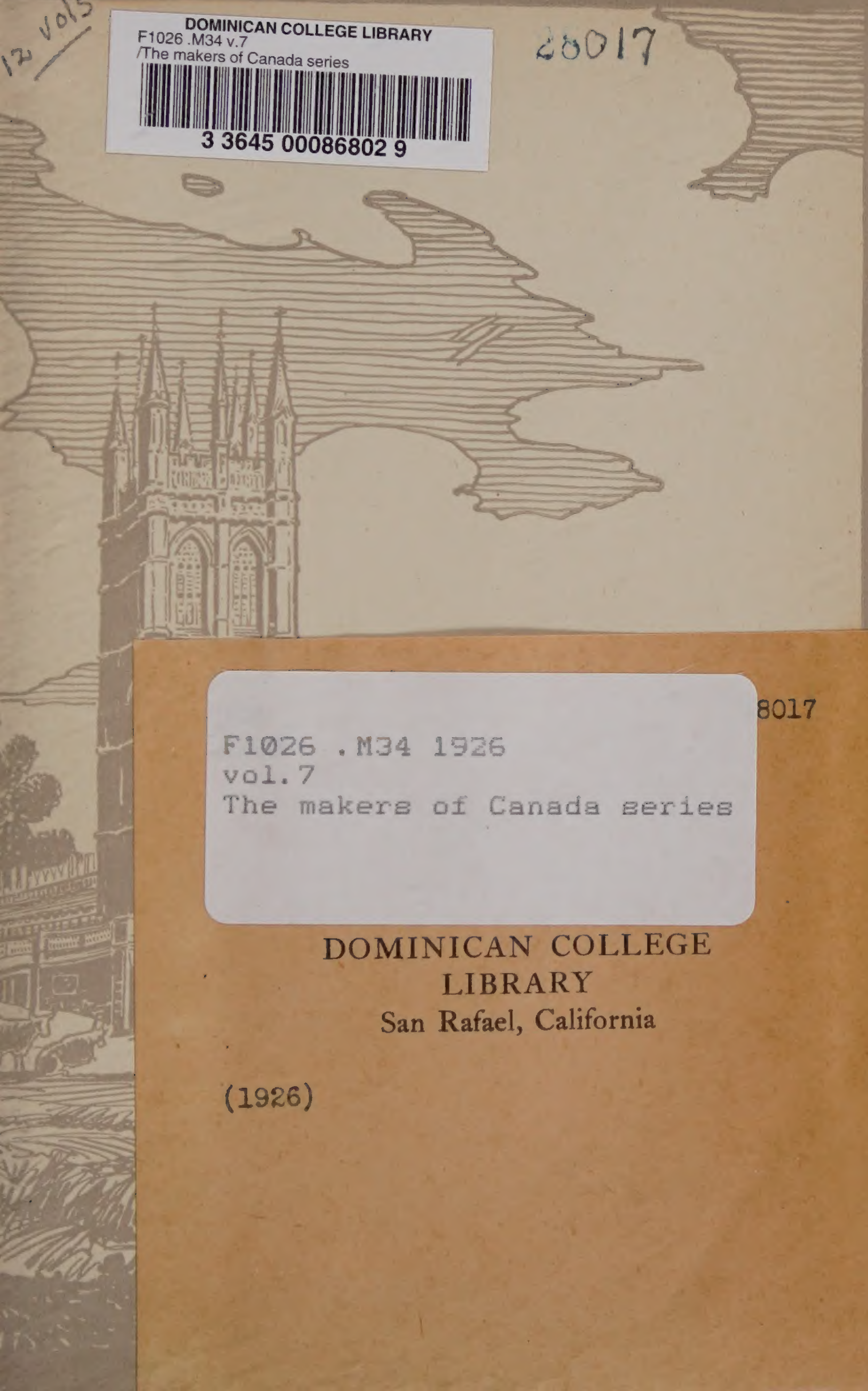

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